

### Religion on the "Voice"

Within the past few months the religious content of Voice of America broadcasts has been noticeably stepped up, particularly to the Iron Curtain countries. There has long been a religious affairs desk at the VOA and broadcasts with a religious content have never been entirely lacking. The new administration of Dr. Robert L. Johnson is convinced, however, according to newspaper reports, that the VOA has shown excessive timidity about religion up to now. To us it seems quite legitimate, in terms of our traditional concept of the relations of Church to State, for the Voice of America to reflect the religious life of this nation, whose voice it is supposed to be. Moreover, our concept of religious freedom is a natural bond of contact with the audiences we seek to reach, particularly those behind the Iron Curtain who are being denied this right. Finally, the struggle of freedom against tyranny has to be traced to that of religion against irreligion—as Presidents Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower have frequently proclaimed. The VOA has never feared that its religious broadcasts might be in any way unconstitutional. The U. S. Supreme Court's April 28, 1952 decision on released time in New York State helped to clear the atmosphere clouded by the unfortunate 1948 McCollum decision. This new religious policy of the International Information Administration under Dr. Johnson will ensure a more realistic reflection of America than the VOA's previous policy. It should also be more effective. The innovation, we hope, will result in a general toning up, not only of the specifically religious accents of the Voice, but of its spiritual emphases generally.

### Bribes to MIG pilots

Catholic journalists in Britain regret that Gen. Mark Clark offered \$100,000 to the first Red pilot in Korea who would deliver a MIG-15 to the UN. The whole thing just isn't cricket, they seem to say. Neither do they agree with Sir Winston Churchill that it is "better to be bribed than to be killed." Douglas Hyde in the London *Catholic Herald* has called the offer a "deplorable business." The *Catholic Times*, also of London, devotes its leading editorial on May 8 to the offer under the heading "All is not fair . . ." The writer argues that, while the "Almighty Dollar" has brought help and comfort to many peoples, "it is doing an ill service to humanity when it attempts to buy the souls of men." To the London *Tablet* the offer was not so much a crime as a blunder. Its editors see nothing wrong in inviting those behind the Iron Curtain to come over to the side of the free world. What is wrong with Clark's offer, they think, is that it makes it harder for the real patriot to come over because it renders him liable to the suspicion of being motivated by love of money rather than love of freedom. Rev. Francis J. Connell, C.S.S.R., dean of the School of Catholic Theology at Catholic University, thinks it is wrong to invite desertions for

## CURRENT COMMENT

pecuniary rewards, if these are the *only* motives proposed. To date, we must remember, there have been no takers in Korea, whereas two young Polish MIG pilots have chosen freedom for its own sake in Denmark. So psychologically, at least, General Clark's offer may well have been a mistake. Let's not confuse the issues: the prize we offer is freedom in place of tyranny. We could not afford to "buy" enough desertions to turn the tide anyway.

### Thailand wants a UN "watchdog"

The recent invasion of Laos by the troops of Vietnamese Communist leader Ho Chi Minh took the seven-year-old Indo-Chinese war out of the realm of French internal affairs and made it an international issue. The presence of Communist troops and the installation of a puppet regime in northern Laos posed a distinct threat to neighboring Thailand, Burma and Malaya, a situation which should have been called to the attention of the UN weeks ago. On May 20, therefore, Thailand's uneasy Government announced its determination to bring the matter before the Security Council. It would not ask condemnation of Red aggression but the establishment of a UN "watchdog" in Southeast Asia. The tactic of establishing a UN commission to observe and report on tense international situations is not a new one. It was used with considerable effect during the Greek civil war and later proved invaluable in Korea, where UN observers labeled North Korea the aggressor within hours after the initial outbreak of the fighting. It would have been impossible to persuade all the Council members to act immediately in June, 1950 had not the UN been in possession of on-the-spot, impartial and authoritative information from the UN Commission on Korea. The present Peace Observation Commission is a 14-nation body established in November, 1950 as a direct outgrowth of the experience in Greece and Korea. It need not confine its reports to outbreaks of actual fighting but may investigate subversion, political activity, war propaganda, terrorism and troop movements. The commission operates under the General Assembly. If, therefore, a Russian veto in the Security Council should block Thailand's request for an investigation, a two-thirds vote of the larger body, where the veto is inoperative, would give Thailand its "watchdog" in Southeast Asia.

### **Netherlands limits sovereignty**

The Dutch have just demonstrated that, so far as they are concerned, "national sovereignty" cannot be allowed to block the evolution of international institutions. On May 20 the Netherlands Parliament completed ratification of far-reaching amendments to their 138-year-old Constitution. The new provisions, which now lack only the formality of signature by Queen Juliana to be in force, might shock some of our own fellow citizens. They make possible the transfer of Dutch sovereignty to supranational organizations to the extent made necessary by such institutions as the Coal and Steel Authority, the projected European Defense Community and the European Political Community. These provisions, permitting the delegation of legislative, administrative and judicial powers to supranational organizations, were drafted in order to remove any last doubts concerning the constitutionality of the treaties establishing such bodies. The new amendments also stipulate that international "agreements" which conflict with the Constitution may be ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Parliament instead of by a constitutional amendment. In addition, the Dutch courts must refuse to apply domestic law in conflict with these agreements. At the Foreign Ministry it has been pointed out that the amendments express a philosophy directly opposed to that implied in the changes proposed for the U. S. Constitution by Senator Bricker of Ohio. The recent action of the Dutch Parliament is a resounding vote for European unity. More than that, it is an acknowledgment of a sound moral principle that (to quote the Malines *Code of International Ethics*), although states may have sovereign power within their respective frontiers, "they must limit their authority under the superior and necessary law which directs all national activities to the common good of humanity."

### **Cut the red tape on imports**

This week the House Ways and Means Committee was holding hearings on the so-called Customs Simplification bill. In substantially the same form this bill has been sidetracked in Congress since 1950 for supposedly more important matters. Actually, so far as foreign-trade policy goes, the bill ranks in importance

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with bills dealing directly with tariff schedules. Not long ago an attaché of a friendly legation informed us that the business interests of his country were more concerned at the moment over our customs regulations than over our tariff rates. In many cases, under the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, our tariff walls have been knocked down to the point where in a number of lines foreign businessmen can compete for the American market. What stops them is the mountain of paperwork and other red-tape connected with transferring goods to an American buyer. Reporting last week from Vienna, where she attended the meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce, Sylvia F. Porter stressed the same point. The businessmen this syndicated columnist interviewed all complained more about our customs procedures than about our tariffs. Miss Porter offered a "horrible example." Ten years ago a Belgian industrialist exporting to the United States employed four men to do the paperwork involved in shipping his product to an American port. Today the same exporter has to hire 47 men to process the same shipment. And the importer also has to fill out all sorts of forms in quadruplicate. Since the Administration has already given up the fight for lower tariffs this year, the Customs Simplification bill becomes more important than ever. It is the only liberalization of our import policies we can offer for the present to our discouraged European friends.

### **AFL skeptical on dock clean-up**

If President Joseph Ryan and his henchmen in the International Longshoremen's Association ever toyed with the idea that the AFL's ultimatum of last Feb. 3 was only window-dressing, they are now disillusioned. Since last February the racket-infested ILA has gone through various motions of self-reform which, on the surface, seem fairly impressive. It ordered the shape-up abolished. It drafted rules ostensibly aimed at enforcing honest and democratic administration of the locals. It forbade officials to accept gifts from employers. On only two counts did the ILA hierarchy ignore or reject the terms of the AFL ultimatum. It did nothing about firing officers who had accepted gifts and bribes from employers, nor did it oust former convicts from their union jobs. On this last score, the ILA notified the AFL that it would proceed against those gentry only if and when the federation imposed a ban on former convicts applicable to all its affiliates. On May 21, at a meeting in Washington, the AFL executive council unanimously rejected ILA's reform report as "inadequate." AFL President George Meany told reporters that despite all the gestures it was doubtful whether ILA had fulfilled even one of the AFL's demands. As a result, Mr. Ryan was notified that unless he comes clean by Aug. 10, the council will recommend to the AFL convention in September that the ILA be expelled. Even that drastic action and any other measure the AFL might take would

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not effect the delousing of the docks, which is a job that far exceeds the federation's capacities and the limits of its responsibilities. For that reason the intervention of the Federal Government, announced on May 26 by the Attorney General, is welcome and timely. Nothing short of the full power of the FBI can break the gangsters' grip on the piers.

### **Again GM shows the way**

The best news for a long time on the labor-management front was the announcement from Detroit on May 22 that General Motors and the United Auto Workers had agreed on revisions of their famous five-year agreement. When this long-term contract was signed in 1950, it was widely hailed as a fine innovation, making for stabilized labor-management relations. The possibility that the experiment might come a cropper—a possibility raised by UAW demands on GM—had cast a pall over U. S. industrial relations. The pessimism was deepened by the tendentious character of the recent congressional hearings on revisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. Now the sun is shining again, even though 150,000 auto workers were idle last week over local disputes. While some management men were incensed when UAW asked GM to reopen a contract that still had two years to run, calmer heads prevailed. They recognized the merit in UAW's argument that since neither side foresaw the Korean War and the rearmament program, it was only fair and reasonable to revise the contract in the light of those developments. Under wage controls, other unions not only received increases that matched those granted GM workers under the cost-of-living escalator, but received them as part of their basic wage. Unlike those of GM workers, their wages would not drop with the cost of living. By agreeing to incorporate into the basic wage structure 19 cents of the 24-cent cost-of-living increase since 1950, GM has rectified this inequity. At the same time it consented to raise the productivity factor from 4 to 5 cents an hour, and to up the wages of its skilled workers. In so doing, the company wisely acknowledged that long-term contracts are, as UAW contended, "living documents" subject to change whenever extraordinary and unforeseen circumstances arise.

### **Wealthy trade unions: ILGWU**

In a certain sense many an American trade union is "big business." This fact was revealed last week when President David Dubinsky reported to the national convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (AFL) that the union's assets had jumped in three years from \$56 million to \$166 million. But exactly in what sense is this "big business"? Too many people in the country, including some employers, have the notion that a union's assets are freely at the disposal of union leaders for such purposes as political action, strike aid and organizational campaigns. A study of the ILGWU report, which is a model of detailed (and very expensive) accounting, shows how false this idea is. About two-thirds of

the union's assets are tied up in retirement and welfare funds of various kinds, which are just as untouchable as are the reserves of an insurance company. ILGWU's health and vacation funds have a reserve of \$61.7 million. Another \$50.9 million is salted away in pension reserves. Only \$52 million of the union's total assets is held in the union's operating treasury, and this is split between the International and all the locals throughout the country. This is not to deny that union officials do have large funds at their disposal to influence employers and public bodies. In the three-year period since the last convention, for example, ILGWU spent \$145,000 of its own funds on political activities. It gave \$50,000 to the Liberal party, \$50,000 to Americans for Democratic Action and \$35,000 to the AFL's League for Political Education. Much larger gifts, totaling \$5 million since 1950, went to philanthropic and labor causes all over the world. For heading this vast operation President Dubinsky receives a relatively modest salary of \$22,400 a year, plus \$8,000 for traveling and other expenses. In that respect, too, if ILGWU is big business, it is big business in a very special sense.

### **Colin Clark versus Malthus**

Above the chorus of Cassandras who chant the inevitability of either birth control or starvation for the world, a strong note of hope boomed out from the May 22 *Commonweal*. Prof. Colin Clark, well-known Australian economist, at present director of the Institute for Research in Agricultural Economics at Oxford University, in an article titled "People and Food" argues that more capital and better farming methods can handle the problem of feeding and clothing the world. A lot of people, for example, give India, with its dense and undernourished population, as the clinching argument for neo-Malthusianism. Yet, as Mr. Clark points out, Italy, with an equally dense agricultural population, produces twice as much per worker as India. The Dutch, whom Clark calls "a really successful farming people," have a farm population about two-thirds the density of the Indian, yet they produce six times as much food per square mile of cultivable land. If all farm land were cultivated at Dutch standards of skill and hard work, and if world consumption was also at the present Dutch standard (a high one), the world could support a population somewhere between 10 and 15 billion people, as compared with the 2.3 billion it supports now. In conclusion Mr. Clark writes:

No political leader, however powerful, no economist, however learned, has the slightest right to interfere with the birth of children. No—it is the other way round: it is parents who have the right to demand that prime ministers and economists so organize the world that children have enough to eat.

The failure, then, is not one of Divine Providence. It is the failure of men to realize the demands of social justice and charity.



### **What business can do for education**

Judge Alfred A. Stein handed down an important decision in the New Jersey Superior Court on May 21 when he ruled that financial contributions from corporations to educational institutions are "a solemn duty as well as a valid right under New Jersey statutes." The action concerned a gift of \$1,500 to Princeton University by the A. P. Smith Manufacturing Co. of East Orange. The shareholders who brought suit contended that use of the company's funds should be restricted to "creating profits for its shareholders." A marked change has occurred in the law on this point since the early days of corporations. Some seventy years ago an English Chancellor wrote: "Charity has no business to sit at boards of directors." Another decision with reference to a railroad's power to take its porters on a picnic stated: "The law does not say that there are to be no cakes and ale, but there are to be no cakes and ale except such as are required for the benefit of the company." The issue of the "benefit of the corporation" remains to this day, but judicial interpretation of what is "beneficial" has placed more and more power in the hands of directors to make gifts from corporate funds without consulting their shareholders. Corporations can donate, not only to employees, but to community charitable enterprises and now to general education. New Jersey law on the point requires that directors determine that the gift will contribute to the protection and advancement of corporate interests.

### **. . . a corporation's real "interests"**

Judge Stein's decision exemplifies the way our law, through a natural process of social adaptation, has been growing into greater conformity with sound social philosophy. The common law was based on a deep respect for individual rights as vindicated by the natural law of justice. But, as interpreted by jurists after the Reformation, it was much too individualistic to suit the needs of industrialized societies. In the heyday of "rugged individualism" our courts distorted natural rights by invoking them as a shield for vested property interests against the demands of social justice. More recently, however, American law has taken a more social view of property, a view more in line with Christian social teaching. Corporations as well as individuals, we must remember, are bound by social justice. Moreover, the real "interests" of stockholders are closely allied with "free enterprise" in higher education. Again, corporations reap the direct benefits of the college training of graduates they recruit as junior executives, scientists, salesmen and many other types of employee. Finally, by making modest but regular contributions to the support of colleges and other community-service institutions, boards of directors convince the public that businessmen are just as public-spirited as any other group. Such a policy is therefore a more effective form of public relations than many types of lavish "good-will" advertising.

### **RICH ARE POORER**

The age-old plaint of social reformers that the rich grow richer and the poor poorer has no basis in fact in mid-twentieth-century America. One writer recently called the country's well-to-do the "forgotten men" of our economy. Although this estimate of what has been happening to large-income receivers seems somewhat exaggerated, it is true that the rich are not so well off today, relatively or absolutely, as they were in 1939, or throughout the quarter-century before that. Such is the conclusion of Dr. Simon Kuznets, University of Pennsylvania professor and noted world authority on income distribution, in his new 768-page book, *Shares of Upper Income Groups in Income and Savings*.

According to Dr. Kuznets, the share of income going to the top 5 per cent of the population started shrinking as far back as the late 1920's. The process was helped along, oddly enough, by the "soak-the-rich" tax legislation of the Hoover Administration. Then during the war years all sorts of factors, in addition to taxes, tended to depress high and boost low incomes. Strict controls over rents and interest rates kept property income low, while at the same time inflationary prices and full employment at high wage rates boosted the incomes of farmers, small businessmen and industrial workers. In 1939, the top 5 per cent received after taxes 22.7 per cent of total national income. By 1944, its share had plummeted to 13.3 per cent. Since that time the well-to-do have regained enough of the lost ground—they are presently receiving about 15.1 per cent of the income—to cut their relative loss from 1939 to about 33 per cent.

The top 1 per cent of the population has suffered a more drastic decline. From 10.9 per cent of the national income in 1939, they have dropped to a point where they are receiving a little more than 6 per cent. To make this top bracket, a family of three has to have today a minimum annual income of \$16,548. In 1948, families in this bracket had an average income of \$34,689. In that same year the national average for a family of three was \$4,143—or about one-eighth the average annual income of the top 1 per cent. This may seem like a big spread, but it isn't, at least relatively. In 1939, the national average was only one-twelfth the average of the top 1 per cent.

Whence do the rich derive their incomes?

Over the years the top 1 per cent of the population has received more than half its income from property, in the form of dividends, rent and interest; the top 5 per cent, more than a third. In 1939, the top 5 per cent received 71 per cent of all dividends, and this group still receives 66 per cent of such income. This would seem to indicate that, however much income distribution has improved, ownership of productive facilities, outside of agriculture, remains heavily concentrated. That conclusion is buttressed by figures showing that the bulk of dividends received by the top 5 per cent goes to families with incomes of \$16,548 a year or more.

B. L. M.



## WASHINGTON FRONT

The last two weeks, I have been writing, somewhat theoretically, on the powers of the Chief Executive and his relations to the legislative branch. Some recent facts and events may serve to illustrate what I have written.

For three months now, the Democrats have been paying the piper in the form of support of the President's positions on various issues, mostly foreign. That has become a political truism. But there are new signs that indicate that the Democratic minority is preparing to claim the right to call the tune, at least on some issues.

They are encouraged in this by their success in keeping out any anti-Truman amendment to the Dulles resolution on Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam, and in ultimately shelving it. They are now ready to get their way against immediate tax reduction, especially of the excess-profits tax; on foreign aid; and on defense expenditures.

The fact that the President is also on their side on these three issues is undeniable. But one may wonder if he would have been had he not been aware that he needs their help against a faction in his own party. On some domestic issues still to arise, such as on Taft-Hartley revision, on social-security extension, on conservation of public grazing, forest, water-power and mineral lands, on farm-price supports and McCarran Act revision, it remains to be seen whether the President will attempt to redeem his campaign promises, most of which are now acceptable to the Democrats.

Some of these may be stymied by the old coalition of many Northern Republicans and most Southern Democrats. For instance, the new idea of "returning to the States" many functions of the National Labor Relations Board could, if adopted, halt in its tracks the unionization of the newly industrialized South. It could also indirectly bring about the long-sought prohibition of nation-wide labor contracts, which, in its turn, could atomize all international unions, and thus destroy them. So far there has been silence on this subject from the White House.

On other issues, the President and the Democrats have opposition in the Cabinet itself, notably on conservation of natural resources and on farm-price supports. There is no conservationist bloc in Congress, as there used to be; on the contrary, an anti-conservation lobby is powerful, as is the private-power lobby, its first cousin.

On the other domestic issues, on which the President and most Democrats are allied, there is still the promise of lots of excitement before the end of this first session of the 83rd Congress.

WILFRID PARSONS

## UNDERSCORINGS

The Vicariate Apostolic of Denmark has been raised to the rank of a diocese, it was announced by Most Rev. John Theodore Suhr, O.S.B., at the opening of the first Danish National Catholic Convention at Copenhagen on May 23. Bishop Suhr, formerly Vicar Apostolic, becomes Bishop of Copenhagen, the first diocese to be established in Scandinavia since the Reformation. In a radio address to Denmark's 26,000 Catholics (in a population of 4.25 million), Pope Pius XII recalled the great saints of the pre-Reformation Danish Church and praised the heroic labors of the priests, religious and laity "who in the past century . . . have built anew the structure of Catholic faith in your land."

► In London, for the first time since the Reformation, a statue of the Blessed Virgin has been erected in public, says a Religious News Service dispatch of May 25. Chancellor of the Exchequer R. A. Butler (a non-Catholic) unveiled the "Madonna and Child," executed by Jacob Epstein, outside the Convent of the Holy Child, Cavendish Square. The statue is made of lead saved from the roof of the convent when the building was damaged during the war.

► Some 50,000 people attended the afternoon Mass on May 17 that opened the five-day Archbishop Ritter Worldmission Exhibition in St. Louis. Celebrant of the Mass, which was sung in the downtown Municipal Plaza, was Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter. The deacon and subdeacon were Negro priests; the master of ceremonies and an assistant priest were Chinese. More than 400,000 people visited the exhibition.

► Pope Pius XII has named Msgr. Giuseppe Sensi of the Vatican Secretariat of State to be permanent observer for the Holy See at the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco), according to an NC dispatch of May 21. He succeeds His Eminence Angelo Cardinal Roncalli, Patriarch of Venice, who was appointed to the UN post in June, 1952, while serving as Papal Nuncio to France, and who became a Cardinal and Patriarch of Venice in January, 1953. (The *Catholic Mind* for June contains a sermon, "Catholics and Unesco," preached by Cardinal Roncalli in Paris on Nov. 12, 1952 before delegates to the 7th General Conference of Unesco. Reprints are available at 2¢ each from our Business Office.)

► A recent release from Maryknoll, N. Y., states that the members of a typical ordination class of 25 Maryknoll Missionaries who have now spent ten years in the missions baptized in that time enough infants and adults to populate a city the size of Bethlehem, Pa., Galveston, Texas, or Wheeling, W. Va. Scattered over the world, literally, from China to Peru, from the Yellow Sea to the Andes, they have in ten years baptized 62,000 people.

C. K.

## ***Big Three talks: a pro tem prop***

President Eisenhower's May 21 announcement that the Big Three would hold top-level talks in Bermuda "next month" was obviously no more than a pro tem prop to keep the roof of Allied unity from caving in (see "Allied unity: 'a venture in distress,'" AM. 5/30, pp. 237-38). That roof has been subjected to far too heavy beatings over far too long a time to admit of any "quickie" repair job.

The first question we must face is whether the house itself, as it now stands, can support the roof the free world has designed for it. Its walls, which are the political structures of the individual democracies, are shaky. In France, the main Continental support of the coalition, the seventeenth Cabinet since January, 1946, collapsed three hours after Premier René Mayer had announced to the cheers of the Chamber of Deputies that he had been invited to join in the Bermuda talks with President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Churchill. Could any conjunction of events have dramatized so sensationably the present incapacity of any French Government to bear the stress of binding commitments to burdensome Allied enterprises?

Contemporary democracies, as Walter Lippmann soberly concluded from his recent observations in Europe, are in a state of internal disorder. Paris is Exhibit No. 1. After June 7, when Italy will go to the polls, we shall know better what chance Italian democracy has of measuring up to the thrusts of this revolutionary hour in history. The Adenauer Government in West Germany, which must go to the electorate in the fall, is the target of a very serious Socialist bid to unseat it, largely on questions of foreign policy. Everyone knows that in Great Britain the Conservatives hold on by the skin of their teeth. The evidence that Messrs. Churchill and Attlee "cooked up" their foreign-policy debate shows how eager both of them were to pull Allied policy into closer line with British public opinion. Their hands are tied.

What about the United States, which has to provide the entire framework and scaffolding of the house of Allied unity? Let us not deceive ourselves. By indecision, by dealing indulgently with the termites of nationalism, isolationism and "economy at any cost" and by giving every gimcrack architect a decisive voice, our Government has allowed the relatively strong structure of American postwar foreign policy to develop some alarming warps. We cannot altogether blame our Allies for wondering whether this might not be the time to get out from under before the building crashes.

The internal troubles of the democracies are everywhere the same. They are mainly political, not economic. Basically, the economics of the advanced democracies are balanced and highly productive. Their industrial plants have more than recovered from

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the war. They possess industrial know-how. They have access to raw materials. The unnatural disruption of East-West trade, of course, has posed marketing problems the gravity of which must be fully recognized. Still, these problems could be reduced to manageable proportions—*provided* the democracies enjoyed the kind of political organizations capable of coping with them.

There is the rub. The global crisis of this revolutionary era demands wise and energetic executives, supported by cohesive political parties and backed by enlightened public opinion. Instead, they all have executives badgered by legislatures at the mercy of ideological, political and economic pressures of every possible shape and size. The very chaos our Federal Constitution was devised to avert, that of engulfment of the executive by leaderless legislative bodies, is threatening the existence, not only of parliamentary systems, but even of our own Presidential system of government.

If anyone wants to know who is running our Federal Government today, the answer is this: a long roster of congressional committee chairmen (mostly extremely conservative and even reactionary, some of whom the country at large never before knew existed), State party organizations, a battery of pressure groups and members of Congress acting as their spokesmen. The only representative of all the American people, the man whom his party begged to bring it out of the political wilderness, has borne too long with men who have abused his tolerance to sabotage his Administration.

Between now and next fall the President really has no choice. He must assert the political prerogatives of the American Presidency. He must insist that a building beginning to dance under the whiplashes of world-wide hurricanes can have only one master architect to make final decisions. He must announce his decisions and, in the idiom of the Founding Fathers, see to it that, consistently with those decisions, "measures adequate to the exigencies of the Union" are adopted forthwith.

The shakiness of the shelter of Allied unity, caused internally by executive enfeeblement, has not only disrupted their united front but has exposed them to outside manipulation. As things stand, any hope that the USSR will make concessions because it fears the fortress they have reared becomes illusory. The fortress is turning out to be a makeshift.

Why, for example, did Russia on May 25 reject the Allied proposal to resume lower-level talks on an

Austrian peace treaty? Apparently because it has everything to gain by delay when its opponents are falling out within and among themselves. Might not the same be true in Korea and Indo-China? If it is, the sawdust may have already run out of the President's hope—uttered as recently as April 16—for “a few . . . clear and specific acts” by the USSR attesting to a sincere desire for peace.

Let's be honest: since the beginning of the year the Allies have just about frittered away their bargaining position *vis-à-vis* the Red Powers. They are leaving Germany wide open to Russian overtures honeyed with the promise of unification.

At Bermuda the Big Three cannot do much about all this because their own houses will still be in disorder. The American people, however, can do something immediately. They can strengthen the President in his handling of a chaotic Congress. By so doing they will at least help to supply a pro tem prop to Allied unity. No more can come out of the Bermuda talks. The real rebuilding will take longer—once the democracies come to their senses.

## ***The Sacred Heart and social order***

At Harvard University an unusual study is under way at the Research Center in Altruistic Integration and Creativity. Social scientists under Prof. Pitirim Sorokin have set out “to study love in its various aspects and especially to explore efficient ways of producing, accumulating and circulating love energy in the human universe.” Their empirical study of society has shown that St. Paul was right, that charity is the bond of perfection. “At the present time,” writes Professor Sorokin, “there seems to be no power but creative love that can prevent suicidal wars and revolutions . . .”

For sixty years or more, the Popes in their great social encyclicals have been saying the same thing. Though justice must govern all social order, it cannot, without love, unite hearts and minds.

The marvelous order in the whirling interior of the atom is due to the perfect operation of physical laws. But in the dynamics of a free society, order can arise only from the widespread exercise of justice and love. Hatred can produce the order of a well-kept prison-camp, but for order with freedom, you need love.

Where to get this love? “Behold the Heart which has loved men so much!” By learning to love as Christ loves, man learns to love his fellow man. In their magnificent encyclicals on the Sacred Heart (now collected together in a new, America Press edition), both Leo XIII and Pius XI show how this devotion to the Heart of Christ, as the symbol and center of His burning love for men, generates love in the hearts of men.

Religion certainly does not exist primarily for

the benefit of human society. God's claims on our total love and service are superior to all temporal claims. It is true, none the less, that in seeking first the kingdom of God, these things will be added unto us. The Holy Father told a group of Italian workers gathered in Rome on May 14 to celebrate the anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*:

Certain Catholics, promoters of a new social order, are in error when they maintain that social reform must come first of all and that afterwards care will be taken of the religious and moral life of the individual and of society. The first cannot, in fact, be separated from the second, because this world cannot be disjoined from the other . . .

Social work, study and propaganda, there certainly must be. But it will yield meager fruit unless permeated with charity. Here is the social significance of devotion to the Sacred Heart. For Christ's love of men is not only a model but the active source of a divine regenerating power.

Social disorder has its roots in original sin. Social history bears grim testimony to this “mystery of iniquity.” Although Professor Sorokin and his collaborators are not likely to find original sin among their charts and graphs, they can hardly miss its sad effects. Somehow, we hope, their research will bring them and many others closer and closer to the true source of the love they seek—the Heart of Christ, the love that must inspire a just social order.

## ***Does “intimidation” restrict freedom?***

The request by James A. Wechsler of the New York *Post* that the American Society of Newspaper Editors study the record of his interrogation by a Senate subcommittee (Am. 5/23, p. 212) touches an important phase of an issue daily developing sharper edges: the proper balancing of democratic freedom and authority under the stress of grave Communist threats to both. The *Post's* editor argues that Senator McCarthy, by haling him before a Senate Investigations subcommittee and imputing to him a phony break with communism back in 1937, was abusing his legislative prerogatives to punish a relentless critic of Mr. McCarthy and all his works.

What are the facts? The Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations is a sub-unit of the Committee on Government Operations. Mr. McCarthy chairmans both. The subcommittee has investigated the International Information Administration of the State Department, including both the Voice of America and the IIA libraries abroad. The ostensible purpose in calling Mr. Wechsler was that his books were on the shelves of these IIA libraries. It was a matter of record that he had published two of them before breaking with the Communists in 1937, and two later.



The obvious way to evaluate the books on the IIA shelves, one would think, is to examine the books rather than the authors. The authors are not on the IIA shelves. Plainly, Mr. Wechsler's books were not Senator McCarthy's target: "We are now attempting to find out," the Senator confessed well along in the second day's hearings, "whether the two books which you wrote, which I believe you said followed the Communist party line while you were a member of the Young Communist League, were on the shelves." That was quite a revelation—especially after the Senator had sent two of his investigators to Europe to make an on-the-spot check of the work of IIA.

Most of the hearings revolved around Mr. Wechsler's four-year collegiate membership in the YCL and Mr. McCarthy's attempt (in our opinion highly sophistical) to prove that the *Post* follows the CP line.

Mr. Wechsler charged that the Senator had called and quizzed him, not at all because he had written books, but as a "reprisal," as "the first in a long line of attempts to intimidate editors . . ." Arthur Krock of the *New York Times* and four journalists on "Meet the Press" (NBC-TV, May 17) have argued that since the attempt to "intimidate" Wechsler failed, no issue of freedom of the press is involved.

This is strange reasoning. Justice Frankfurter found the Champaign, Ill., system of released-time religious instruction constitutionally offensive because it presented "powerful elements of inherent pressure." "The fact that this power has not been used to discriminate," he added, "is beside the point" (68 S.C. 227). Much more is it beside the point that a Senator's attempts to intimidate an editor have not, in fact, intimidated him. Its application aside, the Justice's rule of law seems incontestable.

Besides the legal issue, we have here a very serious moral issue which Mr. Krock has entirely overlooked. Has not the journalistic profession a duty to condemn the abuse of almost unlimited legislative investigating powers to gain the upper hand in a personal vendetta with an editor?

## ***Delinquency: a product of disordered families***

It will take more than the discovery of nuclear fission to make this a red-letter generation in the story of human progress. A leaflet issued May 16 by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare shows that we are getting nowhere in our efforts to deal with juvenile delinquency. Entitled "Some Facts on Juvenile Delinquency," the leaflet states that the number of child delinquents appearing before juvenile courts has increased by almost 20 per cent since 1948. And it's not exclusively a big-city problem either. Courts serving jurisdictions of less than 100,000 persons showed an average increase of 29 per cent.

Another alarming fact is that the crimes are getting

more serious. Preston Sharp, director of the Youth Study Center of Philadelphia, claims that boys of ten are now committing the type of burglaries and hold-ups that boys of fifteen or sixteen used to commit and that boys of fifteen and sixteen are being arrested for the kind of crimes that youths of twenty or twenty-one used to commit. The leaflet from the Children's Bureau confirms this lowering of the crime age. During the first six months of 1952, it relates, a greater number of serious crimes were committed by boys and girls under 18 years of age than by persons of any other age.

What's to be done? No one who is acquainted with the problem at first hand is likely to offer a capsule formula in answer to that question. Some people will tell you that it is just a matter of providing more psychiatrists. Others say the answer is more hair-brushes applied in the right places, or more slum clearance, or more recreational facilities. Even those who get much closer to a fundamental truth in blaming delinquency on a fundamental lack of religion can be guilty of naive oversimplification.

One important factor in the genesis of delinquency is that of emotional disturbance, even in very young children. Whether such ills are on the increase or whether we just hear more about them these days is debatable. But there seems to be little room for debate over the connection between personality disorders and delinquent behavior. A study of 500 delinquent boys showed that nine-tenths of them were having real difficulty before they were 11 years old in leading a normal social life. At the age of 8 or earlier, almost half showed signs of becoming delinquent.

Some would brush aside all this talk about emotional disturbance as psychological jargon—as a fashionable tag for the disobedient and undisciplined child. But experienced social workers will tell you that many of their problem children have come from homes of the strictest discipline and that there is something more deep-seated in their misbehavior than the casual disobedience of a wilful child. Delinquents are often the victims of frustrations with which, in their immaturity, they cannot cope.

Children are not born with emotional ills. They develop them, usually as the result of some maladjustment within the family. The modern American family, which sociologists type as the "isolated conjugal unit" in contrast to the extended family of grandparents, uncles and aunts in former days, necessitates a heavy emotional investment of a few persons in one another. Maladjustment is thus much more serious in the tight little modern family because the child is left with no one to whom he can turn.

It would be easy to put all the blame on the parents, but just as no emotionally disturbed child can be diagnosed apart from his family, so no family can be diagnosed apart from the society in which it functions. A disordered society will strike at the child through a disordered and insecure family.

# Public lands and private enterprise

Robert L. Schueler

THE CONTROVERSY on tidelands oil, terminated, in its legal aspects, by the bill signed by President Eisenhower on May 22, awakened much interest in the whole question of Federal land holdings. To many people, particularly urban Easterners, the extent of Federal holdings and their complex administrative problems are surprising. The April 25 AMERICA article by Ezra J. Poulsen, "The Federal lands: a national heritage," is a sign of this interest. It is hoped that the present article may further clarify some of the points raised by Mr. Poulsen.

The Watkins Bill mentioned by Mr. Poulsen is only one of several in the present congressional hopper. Rep. F. R. Coudert Jr. (N. Y.) has proposed a sweeping investigation of "commercial and proprietary" activities of the Federal Government to the end that "feasible methods" may be found to transfer such activities and properties to private citizens, cooperatives and corporations (H.R. 12 and 15). In addition, S. 82 and S. 134 would throw open National Wildlife Refuges to mining claims. Rep. Wesley D'Ewart (Mont.) has introduced (by request) H.R. 4023, which would make present permits to graze stock on National Forests a vested right in the hands of stockmen who now hold them. Forest Service officials would no longer regulate grazing. Instead, local advisory boards similar to those which now supervise local administration of public land under the Taylor Grazing Act would set policy. (The words "by request" mean that the Congressman had his doubts about the bill and wanted to let the public know it was not strictly his own idea.) Each session of Congress sees a number of such bills introduced. Some, like the Watkins bill, ostensibly aim to improve administration. Others aim outright at relaxing regulations or transferring ownership. With the new Administration's emphasis upon "private initiative" and "free enterprise," proponents of these bills hope for a more favorable atmosphere than prevailed under Presidents Truman and Roosevelt.

## EXTENT OF FEDERAL OWNERSHIP

To understand public-lands problems, it is helpful to look at just what Uncle Sam's holdings are. According to the official *Statistical Abstract of the U. S., 1952* the Federal Government owns 455,146,726 acres of land in this country (excluding Alaska and Hawaii). This is approximately 24 per cent of the total land area of the United States. By far the greater proportion is in the Western States. The breakdown is as follows:

The advent of a new Administration has raised the hopes of those who desire to see a great part of the Federal lands transferred to State or private control. Mr. Schueler examines the pros and cons of the question and warns against precipitate action. He is a biologist with the U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service in Boston, Mass. Here, of course, he speaks only for himself, not for the Service.

Dept. of Interior	Acres
National Parks .....	14,609,825
Natl. Wildlife Refuges .....	3,100,000
Indian Reservations .....	56,004,670
Taylor Grazing } Commonly	
Districts } called the	160,668,987
Other } public domain	27,772,228
Total, Dept. of Interior.....	262,155,710
Dept. of Agriculture (mostly Natl. Forests) .....	167,656,498
Dept. of Defense.....	23,104,726
Other .....	2,229,792
Total Federal lands.....	455,146,726

There are many arguments for and against Government ownership of these lands. They may be briefly summarized as follows.

## POINTS OF VIEW

Those opposing Government ownership maintain:

1. Government ownership of such vast tracts is an affront to our free-enterprise system and also contrary to the principle of States' rights.
2. In the hands of private individuals these lands would be more productive, pay taxes and still serve legitimate public interests, such as recreation.
3. Large Government holdings leave the adjacent small rancher or lumberman at the mercy of the bureaucrats.
4. Those lands that cannot be turned over to private citizens or States should at least be freed of restrictions on their use.

Those favoring Government ownership maintain:

1. These Government holdings represent the heritage of all the American people and should not be turned over to exploitation for the benefit of a few.
2. Most of these holdings were set aside after the peak of homesteading activity, i.e., after the small settler had had a chance at the better lands.
3. Much more than in the humid and industrial East, soil and water govern the Western economy. Misuse of either or both is reflected and magnified in areas far from the source of misuse. Thus long-range and multiple-purpose conservation is needed, particularly on headwater areas, a requirement often incompatible with private ownership and immediate profits.
4. Ranching and lumbering tend to be big enterprises. Without the buffer of Government holdings, the small operator for whose welfare so much solicitude is expressed would have been eliminated long ago.

5. Private "productivity" has often been synonymous with overcutting of forests and overgrazing on lands, while the so-called "dallying" of Federal agencies has often meant conservative land use.

6. Historically, State control has been more vulnerable than Federal control to special-interest pressure.

Disputes are further complicated by the fact that there is no such thing as a "typical" Government holding. Federal holdings are scattered throughout a number of agencies and differ widely in operation. Some of them, such as National Forests and Parks, were originally set aside for specific conservation objectives and have been in operation for decades. The record of their conservation stewardship has, on the whole, been excellent. Others, such as military and Indian reservations, were not established with specific conservation objectives in mind, but conservation standards have gradually been adopted in their stewardship. It is common now to find military reservations with sound forestry plans in operation. Holdings in still another category, including the so-called public domain, have remained in Federal hands to some extent by default and, to some extent, their management has lacked in sense of purpose. Some of the most difficult problems are found in this category.

Generally speaking, though there are exceptions, large Government holdings tend to be in the more rugged and isolated areas of the country. Thus they are most often associated with watershed protection, recreation, mining, lumbering and grazing. There is little competition for the first two. Watershed protection pays few immediate profits. Nor is anyone interested in taking over the provision of free or almost-free facilities for the 66 million recreational visits made to National Forests and Parks alone last year.

With the other three categories, however, difficulties arise. They may be briefly summarized as follows.

**Mining.** Present outdated mining-claim laws have encouraged many abuses which were described recently in an article in *Collier's* (April 11, 1953). There is general agreement, including responsible mining interests, that an overhaul of these laws is necessary, although there is a dispute as to the best method of overhauling them.

**Lumbering.** The establishment of the National Forest system was originally widely resented by most of the American lumber industry. There are still remnants of this feeling. The passage of the years, however, has tended to bring the industry and the Forest Service closer together, so that their relationship today is generally one of mutual respect. As virgin timber has run out, economics has forced a sustained-yield approach upon industry-owned timberlands. Logging contracts on conservation-managed National Forests have often enabled private operators to stay in busi-

ness while they slowly bring back their own cut-over lands.

**Grazing.** The thorniest problems and bitterest controversy are connected with grazing on public lands. Some of the reasons are:

1. The vast Federal range-lands, particularly on the public domain, are often diffusely mixed with private holdings—an awkward system leading to continual administrative headaches.

2. Low-cost public grazing has become an economic necessity for many ranchers in reach of Government range-land. This supplemental grazing is often looked upon as a private right rather than a privilege.

3. It takes 80-120 years to grow a good sawlog in most of the West, whereas raising a steer or a sheep takes only a fraction of this time. Hence the pressure to chase the "fast buck" now and let posterity worry about itself is exceedingly strong.

4. Under these pressures, much Western range-land, both public and private, has been badly overgrazed. Even with the most advanced techniques, restoration of

productivity requires at least temporary cutbacks in grazing pressure on critical areas. This means sacrifice—which no one is very willing to make.

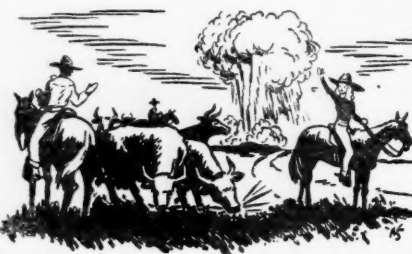
5. In 1934 the U. S. Grazing Service was set up to administer the 160 million acres of public domain that have been placed in grazing districts. It was to do for Federal range-lands what the Forest Service did for Federal forest land. Things did not develop that way, however. From the start, the Grazing Service suffered from lack of funds. It has also been hampered by the local advisory boards of stockmen built into its set-up. Local boards have been a great success in Soil Conservation Districts, where the land is owned by the farmers. But in public lands they have been less conservation-minded.

6. The most vigorous attempts to regulate overgrazing and rebuild range-land have been made on the 83 million acres of grazing land within National Forests. Thus the Forest Service has come in for some of the bitterest attacks by a certain segment of the Western livestock industry. Not all stockmen are hostile, however. In fact, many of them, particularly the smaller ones, support Forest Service policy.

#### THE PROBLEM IN PRACTICE

To illustrate the problem we may examine a typical Western State: New Mexico. The figures here used are official, and were published in an address given at the 18th North American Wildlife Conference held in Washington, D. C., in 1953.

New Mexico has 7 million acres of Indian Lands, 14 million of public domain and 9 million of National Forest, plus large State and military holdings. On its National Forests, 181,026 head of livestock were grazed in 1950, for which \$338,633 was paid in fees.





A total of 1,785 permittees grazed cattle and horses, while 168 grazed sheep and goats. Of the cattle and horse grazers, 77.5 per cent of the permittees grazed only 18.1 per cent of the stock, while as few as 22.5 per cent of them grazed as much as 81.9 per cent of the cattle and horses. In the latter group, 90.4 per cent of the permittees had only 59.8 per cent of the stock, while as few as 9.6 per cent enjoyed 40.2 per cent of the privileges. Of these, two individuals held 16.9 per cent of the permits.

These figures make one question the picture that is often drawn of the small rancher pitted against big Government.

The whole problem of public grazing (at least as applied to National Forests) can be seen in better perspective when we realize that total receipts for grazing fees on New Mexico's National Forests amount to less than half of what the sportsmen of that lightly populated State spend for hunting and fishing licenses, most of which are at least partly used on National Forests.

On the national level, 1,521 Americans use the National Forests for recreation for each grazing permittee. Then there are the considerations of lumbering and watershed protection. Yet legislation is constantly

being introduced into Congress that would either turn these lands over to private stockmen or else make it impossible for the Federal Government to regulate their use.

What this means is that organized private commercial interests are continually pressuring Congress to give them a freer hand, whereas the citizens who use public lands for recreation and sport, as well as the many millions profoundly affected by the watershed and conservation phases of Federal lands, have no lobby. This is the political problem in a nutshell.

It should not be surmised from the foregoing that these problems of public lands are black-and-white matters. There is plenty of room for honest disagreement and also for improvement in Federal stewardship. Review of the many complex aspects of these problems by a qualified and impartial body would be a real benefit. The immediate danger, however, is from hasty action and shotgun prescriptions advanced by special-interest groups under the guise of favoring legitimate private enterprise. All such proposals should be examined very critically lest the conservation achievements of half a century be demolished in a moment of emotional reaction to "too much Government"—at the Federal level.

## Family Life Institute six years after

**Robert Cissell**

**I**F A BRIDE poisons her husband, their marital difficulties immediately become circulation-getting copy for page one. A striking but incorrect statement, such as that one marriage in three ends in divorce, if repeated often enough, can make marriage look like a very poor risk indeed.

No doubt, in the materialistic environment in which we live, there are many family difficulties that result in sensational failures and alarming statistics. But equally worthy of attention is the fact that problems that destroy one family are solved by other families in ways that actually strengthen the family circle. These successful families know how to apply unchanging Christian principles to the difficulties that cause others to give up in despair. Only as these principles become more generally known and acted upon can we expect a general improvement in American family life. Unfortunately, at this time the Christian practices of the successful families receive much less notice than the strange behavior of the failures.

In 1947 there was organized at Xavier University, Cincinnati, a Family Life Institute to help families in the local community find the right answers to their

*Mr. Cissell, assistant professor of mathematics at Xavier University, Cincinnati, is one of the founders of the university's Family Life Institute, which he describes here. He sketched the design of the institute and told of its beginnings in our issue of June 7, 1947. Mr. Cissell and his wife are very active in writing on family economics for Catholic magazines.*

problems ("Campus institute for family life," *AM.* 6/7/47). For its work on behalf of family life the institute received in 1951 a Freedoms Foundation honor medal and cash award. Our experience at Xavier shows that a Catholic college can become an effective center for family-life activity.

In a Catholic college there will, of course, be found the unchanging principles that must underlie a sound family life. There, too, will be found religious and lay faculty members who are familiar with the problems facing families in that area. Finally, a college has the necessary facilities for committee meetings, conferences, days of recollection and other activities.

But while the institute work is centered in the college, it should not be limited to college personnel. During the first four years of the Xavier institute we tried to do most of the work ourselves and held all meetings on the campus. Under this system we had to keep to a limited program. Then Mrs. Richard Sayre, an apostolic laywoman in the community who had been attending the institute conferences, suggested that we invite people outside the school faculty to work with us. Under the able direction of C. Glynn

Fraser, then director of the institute, interested people in the community were formed into a Family Life Committee. This has resulted in our being able to have a much more interesting and varied program. At the present time the Xavier Family Life Institute is carrying on the following activities.

1. A family life conference has been an annual affair since the institute was started. Each year the committee chooses a timely theme and develops a three-day program around it. At our first two conferences the speakers were mostly well-known outside experts. But now we have found enough capable local speakers to carry on most of the program. Also, we are now getting the local high schools to participate in a contest in which displays and other visual means are used to portray various phases of family life.

2. A regular feature of the annual conference is the Family of the Year award. Anyone may submit the name of a local family for consideration. This contest has disclosed numerous families that are outstanding examples of Christian family life. Most of these families are known to only a few people. But when such a family obtains the annual reward, it becomes an inspiration to all families in the community that are trying to lead a Christian family life. When good family living makes interesting copy, as is the case with the Family of the Year, we find that the papers are very generous in publicizing the work of the Family Life Institute.

3. This year the institute will sponsor for the second time an eight-weeks evening course on Restoring the Family Circle. Each week there is a talk on some timely subject like recreation, sex education, teen-age problems and stretching the family income. Questions and discussion follow the talk. All of these sessions are conducted by local people, either parents who are raising families or priests who are active in the family apostolate. We are thus able to have the various topics treated in a way that is in accord with Christian principles, yet offers practical, down-to-earth suggestions that enable families to fit the ideas into the busy routine of daily family life. In our community we have found a surprising number of priests and lay people who are able to conduct informative and interesting meetings on family life. In some cases the participation of these people in the family apostolate is the result of their coming into the work through the Family Life Institute. Probably many other communities have a similar wealth of undiscovered talent which could be found and utilized.

4. The Xavier institute also sponsors an extensive program of Cana and Pre-Cana conferences. This work has been developed by Rev. Edward Wieber, S.J., who has carried his work into individual parishes as well as conducting meetings for interparish groups.

He also gives week-end retreats for engaged girls and for mothers.

5. In the fall and spring the institute has a day of recollection for married couples and others interested in the family apostolate. These are ordinarily held at the home of one of the members of the Family Life Committee. These days contribute to the spiritual welfare of those who are working with the institute and help unify them in their endeavor to do something constructive about restoring family life.

6. Because most meetings in the family apostolate take parents away from their children, the institute has an occasional day of recreation for the entire family. The last one was held in the home of one of the members of the committee, and was a skillful balance of games, good food and group prayer and songs. Those present could see that recreation and Christian living need not be divorced, as is so often the case. Parents who are trying to lead a fully Catholic family life today may find that their immediate environment makes integration of

recreation and Christian living difficult. This is particularly true when their children compare their home customs with those of other children and begin to get the idea that Mom and Pop are a bit queer. This situation can be remedied to some extent by families of like mind coming together occasionally for recreation.

7. The institute is now organizing a speakers bureau to supply qualified speakers on various phases of family life to high schools, parishes and other groups. The speakers will all be local people who are on the Institute Committee or who have given talks at the institute conferences and evening courses. The speakers bureau will have an extensive collection of recorded talks and slides on the liturgy and on family life. These have been prepared by Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Berger, who have for several years been making recordings of talks and preparing sets of colored slides to accompany the talks. As a result of this work, talks given at family-life meetings by authorities on the subject are preserved for later use by discussion groups and other audiences.

An unexpected result of the institute conferences is the Family Relations Club of Greater Cincinnati. Jack Wilson, then an undergraduate at Xavier University, attended the first conference in 1947. He felt that the family-life work should be extended to the students in the community. As a result of this idea there is now a club that draws its members from the four Catholic colleges in Cincinnati and nearby Covington, Ky. These young people carry on their own program during the school year and also help the institute with its annual conference. Thus they are being prepared for their own vocation as home makers



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and are learning about the family apostolate through participation in the work of the institute.

From my experience I feel that a Family Life Institute will succeed in a Catholic college:

1. If the school administration is in favor of such an activity. At Xavier we have been fortunate in having the approval and active assistance both of the president under whom the institute began, Rev. Celestin J. Steiner, S.J., and his successor, the present president, Rev. James F. Maguire, S.J.

2. If at least one faculty member is willing to arrange meetings, send out notices and care for other details. There should also be a priest from the college faculty to serve as chaplain for the Family Life Committee so that those who are helping the institute may themselves be helped to lead a deeper spiritual life.

3. If the apostolic people in the community are invited to give of their time and talents to the institute program. In most cases an institute would have to start with just a few, as we did, but these will interest others in the work. We now have about forty who serve on committees and in other ways contribute their services. This group has been assisting the institute for a year and a half. Their ideas and active support are invaluable. Because a family institute in most Catholic colleges will have to operate on a small budget, I feel that a broad program on behalf of family life is possible only if there is a community group similar to the one we have.

It is my opinion that an institute should work closely with the Family Life Bureau of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. We at Xavier received much help from Rev. Edgar Schmiedeler, O.S.B., director of the bureau. Working with this bureau will mean that a local institute will best fit its work into the U. S. bishops' over-all program of Catholic Action. At the same time the institute can help promote the work of the NCWC by the distribution of literature and other information.

There are now in the United States 236 Catholic colleges and universities. In places where there is a college there are probably people able and willing to work for the betterment of family life in that community. If college and community work together through a Family Life Institute, the result should be a substantial contribution to restoring Christian family life.

(Note: Following a lead given us by Mr. Cissell, we inquired at the College of New Rochelle, N. Y., conducted by the Ursuline Nuns, about its Catholic Family Institute. This was begun in 1947 by a group of parents with the cooperation of the local clergy and the nuns at the college. It sponsors a series of eight lectures, discussions or forums each year, as well as two Cana Conferences. It plans to set up a Marriage Counseling Service and a Library Advisory Service. The Christopher recordings on sex education make available to parents instructional material originally developed at the institute. Ed.)

## A note on anti-communism

*Benjamin L. Masse*

IN AN ADDRESS at the University of Notre Dame on May 15, George F. Kennan, former U. S. Ambassador to Soviet Russia, made some observations about the anti-Communist movement in this country which ought not to go unnoticed.

Mr. Kennan is disturbed by the growth of certain "forces" among us which, though they lack as yet clearly-defined leadership and organizational forms, are all characterized by "an alarmed and exercised anti-communism." It is a special brand of anti-communism, one that bears

an air of excited discovery and proprietorship, as though no one had ever known before that there was a Communist danger, as though no one had ever thought about it and taken its measure, as though it had all begun about the year 1945 and these people were the first to learn it.

These excited anti-Communists—good and sincere people for the most part, though pitifully bewildered—attribute to domestic communism all the problems and frustrations under which the nation labors today. They confuse the "internal and external aspects" of the Communist threat, distort its dimensions and portray as contemporary actualities events which took place years ago. Nationalistic and isolationist in outlook, explains Mr. Kennan, they would cut all cultural ties with foreigners. Here at home they want absolute uniformity in word if not in thought, and the shape of that uniformity they alone are able to determine. If a man is not anti-Communist as they are anti-Communist, his intelligence, and even his loyalty, are suspect.

The phenomenon which Mr. Kennan describes is not unfamiliar to the editors of this Review—a good indication that this excited anti-communism has infected Catholics as well as non-Catholics.

What is most exasperating about the movement—if it can be called a movement—is the characteristic arrogance of its followers. As Mr. Kennan says, one would think that they discovered the menace and are the only ones who understand it or are effectively opposing it.

Only the other day, one of our editors, a man who has forgotten more about communism than these people know, and whose knowledge has been levied on by the intelligence agencies of our country, was charged with naïveté because he suggested that Senator McCarthy's recent blasts at Theodore Kaghan

*Fr. Masse, S.J., is an associate editor of AMERICA.*



and James Wechsler were poorly aimed. The point is not whether the editor or his critic is right about the former deputy director of the Public Affairs Division of the Office of the U. S. High Commissioner for Germany or about the editor of the New York Post (actually all the old anti-Communist "pros" we know regard as fatuous charges that either Kaghan or Wechsler is a Communist or Communist sympathizer). The point is that anyone who dares to disagree with the critic is regarded as an innocent abroad.

Another exasperating quality of these excited anti-Communists is their maddening inconsistency. The ones we know—by correspondence—are all intent on measures aimed at our domestic Communists, but at the same time are totally uninterested in the steps which our Government has taken to stop the iron march of Soviet imperialism in Asia, Europe and the Middle East. They can give you chapter and verse of congressional investigations into subversive activities, but they are hazy about the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, and are not sure even at this late hour just where NATO fits into our foreign policy.

Only the other day we heard an excited anti-Communist argue that a man who supported the Truman Doctrine, the European Recovery Program, NATO, intervention in Korea and aid to the French Union forces in Indo-China—measures which really hurt the Kremlin—was in reality a secret Communist.

According to this topsy-turvy reasoning, fidelity to the party line is no safe criterion for judging a person's Communist ideology, although informed anti-Communists—and Communists themselves—consider it to be such. It was on just such grounds that the CIO ousted its Red-led unions. It is on just such grounds that Government loyalty programs and security agencies operate. The excited anti-Communists, it appears, have other, seemingly infallible, criteria, prominent among which is 100-per-cent support of the ideas and activities of Senators McCarthy and Jenner, Congressman Velde, the Chicago *Tribune* and the Hearst press.

The nationalistic and isolationist bias in this excited anti-communism shows up in other forms, too. Somewhat less than enthusiastic about economic and military aid to our allies, these people are ready to cheer every stupid and dangerous appeal that "we go it alone." Frequently they are found on the high-tariff side of the foreign-trade debate, incredibly ignorant of the elementary fact that if we don't buy from our friends, we shall force them to trade with our enemies. They are lukewarm toward the "Point Four" program and, in general, show little understanding of the upheaval in colonial and former colonial lands, or awareness of how Soviet Russia is fishing in these troubled waters.

In too many cases, also, one might note, they are not sufficiently exercised over the racial injustices in this country which are such a handicap to us throughout Asia and Africa, and which provide so much ammunition for Soviet propaganda.

If there are groups in this country which should not be confused by an imprudent and uninformed anti-communism, one of them is surely the Catholic group. Catholics should know that communism is more than a conspiracy, more even than an imperialistic threat to the still free countries of the world. It is also a protest against injustice, and is seen as such by uncounted millions, not only in the underdeveloped lands, but also in the old, industrialized countries. It must be fought in all three aspects, and fought with clean hands.

In an address to a Boston audience on April 20, Most Rev. John J. Wright, Bishop of Worcester, warned of "the danger of confusing the resistance of the Church to Communist atheism with the anti-communism of political conservatives, economic liberals, some capitalists and certain humanitarians."

It is high time that some of us take the Bishop's warning to heart.

## *The heart of the PW issue*

When the Korean truce talks broke down on the PW issue last May 16, two alternatives faced the UN Command. It could have stood pat on the terms it had offered the enemy and left the reopening of negotiations to Communist initiative. Or it could have worked out still another compromise to make the UN proposals for the disposition of prisoners who have refused to return behind the Iron Curtain more acceptable to the Red delegation at Panmunjom. That it chose the latter course was mainly because of Allied pressure on the United States.

As this issue of *AMERICA* goes to press, Moscow and Peiping have until June 1 to mull over the latest, unrevealed truce terms offered by the UN, presented in secret session at Panmunjom on May 24, after which a week's recess was agreed upon.

The new proposals came as a result of a series of conferences in Allied capitals. President Eisenhower sketched them in bare outline on May 26, when he announced that the Allies had composed their differences. The new plan was in keeping with the Indian resolution endorsed 54 to 5 by the UN last fall. It brooked no compromise on the principle of voluntary repatriation, outlawed the coercion of balky prisoners and insisted on a time limit for their detention.

Controversy between not only the UN and the enemy but also between the United States and other UN members with troops in Korea had loomed in the background of the week-long series of meetings in Allied capitals. Prime Minister Nehru of India had denounced the American negotiators at Panmunjom for scuttling the Indian plan, of which, in his opinion, the last rejected Communist proposal was a close approximation. In Britain, Sir Winston Churchill had expressed the opinion that the rejected Red plan proved there was no longer a difference "in principle" on the prisoner issue since the Communists had ceased insisting on forced repatriation as a condition for

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an armistice. To add to the difficulties, as the Eisenhower Administration sought a compromise acceptable to the enemy and the Allies, Senator Taft's statement of May 26 that we should "forget the UN as far as the Korean war is concerned" may prove to have jeopardized the Allied agreement already reached.

The specific problem which the Indian, the Communist and the American plans attempted to solve (presuming, of course, that the Reds are ready to come to terms on the protection of PW's who refuse repatriation) was the disposition of some 34,000 North Koreans and 14,500 Chinese who have announced their intention of resisting repatriation. All three plans agreed on a five-nation repatriation commission, which would also serve as *ad hoc* custodian of the PW's. They agreed that the Communists be allowed to explain to these prisoners why they should not fear returning home. They differed on the question of the ultimate disposition of those prisoners who would remain unmoved by Communist cajolery.

The Indian plan provided that their ultimate disposition be left to the post-truce political conference on the over-all Korean problem. If this conference failed to reach a solution within thirty days, "the responsibility [for the prisoners] . . . shall be transferred to the United Nations." The presumption is that by "UN" is meant the General Assembly, where the Soviet bloc would be unable to use the veto.

The Communist plan also provided that the post-truce political conference take up the prisoner problem, but it made no provision limiting the time for debate and proposed no alternative should the conference fail to find a solution. Prime Minister Nehru and Sir Winston notwithstanding, the Red proposal was *not* an approximation to the Indian plan, nor could it be said that the Communists no longer differed "in principle" with the UN position on the prisoner question. No matter how one looked at it, the Communist plan amounted to coercion of prisoners in another form. It gave the PW's two alternatives, either indefinite imprisonment or return behind the Iron Curtain. Faced with the prospect of interminable impounding, the PW's, it seems certain, would rather risk return to Red control. This plan loaded the dice for the Reds.

The UN counter-proposal of May 13, on which the truce talks eventually foundered and which provoked dissension among the Allies, was really a strictly American proposition. It called for the immediate release at the time of a cease-fire of the 34,000 North Koreans. It proposed the release sixty days later of all Chinese who turned a deaf ear to Communist persuasion. It did not mention the post-truce political conference at all.

The provision concerning the immediate release of the North Korean prisoners was what occasioned the storm of protest on the part of other UN nations. This stipulation certainly placed greater demands on the enemy than the PW resolution voted by the UN General Assembly ever envisaged. It undoubtedly

represented a gesture to President Syngman Rhee and the South Korean Government, which has violently opposed any compromise whatever in Korea. One can appreciate Syngman Rhee's determination to fight on for a unified Korea and to give no quarter to the Reds. Nevertheless, the UN is seeking a *negotiated* truce in which some form of compromise must play a part. If we insist on the immediate release of any Communist prisoners, we may as well give up hope for an armistice in Korea.

The paramount consideration is not to surrender on the principle of voluntary repatriation. This is the heart of the PW issue. On this there can be no compromise. As Sen. Paul H. Douglas remarked so aptly in his Senate address of May 13:

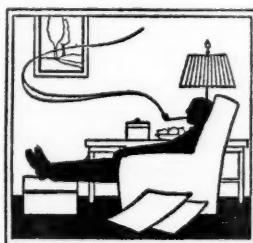
If, by one method or another, the Communists, directly or indirectly, are able to coerce men to return to their countries against their will, they will have won a tremendous moral victory. Such a victory will strengthen their forces throughout Asia and throughout the world and will correspondingly weaken the forces of the free world. People will say the democracies will not defend their own and they will not protect those who come over to them; and that in the long run the Communists always get their way.

The UN can save the principle of voluntary repatriation by fixing a definite terminal date for the detention and interrogation of prisoners and by providing some practical plan whereby those who still do not wish to go home will gain their freedom elsewhere on a definite time-table. On these points we must stand as firm as a rock, the rock of human liberty itself.

VINCENT S. KEARNEY

Fr. Kearney, S.J., is an associate editor of AMERICA.

## FEATURE "X"



"The apostolate of conversation" might well describe the simple technique here set forth for bringing some knowledge of the Church to our non-Catholic friends. Mrs. Wales lives in Burlington, Iowa.

I SHOULD LIKE TO TELL A STORY which I think can point up an example for Catholics to follow.

A friend of ours, a Lutheran, is always very much interested in discussing our faith, and is always so kindly disposed toward it that we frequently express the thought that he would be happy within the Catholic Church. Here is perhaps what started his interest in the faith.

Many years ago, he stopped and spoke to a Catholic

acquaintance on a street corner. The Catholic remarked that he had just attended a funeral Mass. Then he added: "Maybe you don't understand what the Mass is? Let me explain." So, there on the street, he explained to our friend the meaning of the sacrifice of the Mass. And ever since, our friend has felt a profound respect for the Catholic service, because he understands its meaning.

Perhaps Catholics are not aware of it, but every non-Catholic has at times heard joking, or disrespectful, or even sarcastic references to the Mass among groups of non-Catholics. I speak from experience, for I am a convert of only a few years.

From that time on, our Lutheran friend says, whenever he heard a fellow worker or acquaintance speaking of the Mass in an insulting or slighting manner, he has quietly asked: "Do you know what the Mass represents?" And when the answer was "No," he has

explained that it is the sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, as it was offered on Calvary.

He has been interested to notice the sudden shocked change of expression, usually to one of profound seriousness and deep respect, and often to one of shame and embarrassment. "I think from that time on," he added, "they have ceased to make slurring references to the Mass." Maybe we too can realize why Christ said: "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do."

Haven't these two men, the Catholic and the Lutheran, taken an attitude we should all take, in quietly explaining the meaning of the Mass? There are few who would have the temerity to resent such an explanation. We can all be a little more zealous in offering that bit of information if the occasion calls for it. Surely, understanding is the biggest aid to tolerance.

MARGUERITE I. WALES

## A trip to the moon

*James Bernard Kelley*

When I leave home in the morning, it is always something of a problem for me to decide whether I should spend the day building my moonship or working on my new death ray or putting the finishing touches on my cosmic bomb (a cosmic bomb uses a hydrogen bomb as a trigger and is so powerful it will destroy the entire cosmos). Science, as you can see, is a pretty grim business. The task of the scientist is to bring to the world as much suffering and unhappiness as possible. When we were recently on the verge of being "invaded" by swarms of flying saucers, everyone thought the worst. These saucers come from other planets—or, for those whose imaginations were truly cosmic from other universes—and were up to no good. Unfortunately, we were unable to shoot any of them down, which would have been our way of proving that we also were up to no good. The insecurity of man, as portrayed in much science-writing, is apparently universal in the most literal sense of that word.

However, the ghoulish school of science is not in complete control of the means of public information. The screams and explosions which burst from your television screens are pretty generally limited to such media, and scientists themselves are rather unobtrusive men who like to be let alone and would be much happier if politicians and statesmen did not find it necessary to cover up their errors with atomic explosions.

In this connection a small but interesting group of books has made its way to publishers and to the bookshops. Probably one needs considerable tenacity to uncover these books from under the piles of dire

## LITERATURE AND ARTS

predictions about the future of the world. As an aid to discovering some of these books I have selected four, pretty much at random, which the general reader would find both informative and interesting. The impact of science and technology on life is increasing every day along such diverse paths as the prolongation of life and the increase of industrial production. Yet many people, otherwise well-informed, have little or no knowledge of the world of nature. Nowhere can man see the omnipotence and wonder of God more beautifully than in nature. For centuries men have been striving to know more about God by learning more about the universe and world in which they live, even though many seeking this knowledge would never admit they had the remotest interest in God.

Of the four books I selected three deal directly with nature; the fourth deals with man's success thus far in handling one form of nature. Dr. George Gamow is well known to many people outside of the world of physics because of his numerous successes in popularizing difficult scientific concepts. His latest book, *The Creation of the Universe* (Viking, \$3.75), is one of his most lucid, although it might

*James Bernard Kelley, educated at Marquette University, New York University and M.I.T., is in the Physics Department at Hofstra College, Hempstead, L. I.*



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have been better titled "The Origin of the Universe." Dr. Gamow explores the various cosmological theories of where the universe came from and how it developed into its present condition. Using a combination of experimental evidence and abstract reasoning, he shows the possibilities very clearly.

Dr. Gamow gives a very convincing criticism of the theory of the origin of the universe as propounded by the British astronomer Fred Hoyle, who has described the universe as being in a state of continuous creation. The Hoyle theory caused some consternation in theological circles because of its apparent contradiction of the concept of a definite act of creation. Dr. Gamow's arguments are not theological in nature—which, of course, makes them even more powerful in the scientific context. Errors in scientific thinking are best exposed by corrections in scientific thinking and not by resort to divine revelation. As one of the world's leading cosmologists Dr. Gamow deserves an audience; as one of this country's finest writers on scientific topics, he deserves an even wider audience which he has not yet found.

The rain which practically inundated the Eastern seaboard during the months of March and April makes a book about water particularly apropos at this time. Thomson King, director of the Maryland Academy of Science, has written a fine book called *Water* (Macmillan. \$3.50).

What water is, where it comes from, what it does, how good it is, how evil it can be, how it sustains life, how it destroys life, how its lack leaves one area a desert, how its abundance erodes another area, how it does so many wonderful and terrible things are part of the story Mr. King tells about water. Even if we include the air itself, there is no element or compound in nature which is more familiar to us than water. Whether we live in Arizona or on the Maine coast the importance of water is equally great.

But while the economic life which water sustains is both necessary and interesting, still more fascinating is that part of Mr. King's book which deals with water itself. The chemical background, the manner in which it nourishes vegetation, the way it is drawn back into the atmosphere, the hundreds of facts about water which are so common and yet so little understood are all in this fine book. This gift of God which the ancients considered one of the elements along with air, fire and earth has not only caused the rise and fall of nations and civilizations, but was once used by God to destroy the sinful people of the earth. Truly it is His instrument and His creation.

The third volume in this group of four also deals with water but in a different way. Written by an historian, Henry Chapin, and an oceanographer, Dr. F. G. Walton Smith, *The Ocean River* (Scribner. \$4) tells the story of the Gulf Stream and its importance to mankind. Although there is a popular theory abroad

that the atomic explosions in New Mexico and other parts of the world are the cause for the noticeable change in climate along the North Atlantic seaboard in recent years, a much more reasonable case might be made for a change in course of the ocean river, the Gulf Stream.

Such ocean currents or rivers are not merely the carriers of commerce, they are also the carriers of climate or weather. If the findings of the Kon Tiki expedition and its successors are correct, these ocean rivers not only influenced the lives of those whose lands they touched, but actually caused the growth of civilizations and races by carrying peoples thousands of miles to new and unknown lands. *The Ocean River* provides the casual reader with a history of the world in which he lives as well as of the inexorable force which nature exerts in shaping both the world and its peoples.

The last book in this group was written by a physicist who has done a large amount of popular writing on atomic energy. Dr. Ralph Lapp is a young man whose previous work has shown a remarkable lack of "atomophobia," an ailment which has afflicted a great many commentators and editorial writers. In his latest work, *The New Force* (Harper. \$3). Dr. Lapp continues his calm appraisal of the power and place of the atom and the energy which its demolition is capable of releasing. This approach befits a man of

science who has not been addicted to Boris Karloff motion pictures. Very neatly Dr. Lapp gets down to the business of tracing the development of atomic physics in modern times (actually the first atomic theories go back about 2,500 years). Reading the first fifty pages or so, the reader cannot but be struck by the truly international character of science, for the list of scientists who contributed significantly to the present state of atomic science sounds like roll-call at the United Nations. Toward the end of his book Dr. Lapp discusses the problem of security, and if there has ever been a better or wiser discussion I have not seen it.

If you would like to read something about atomic energy which is not replete with detonations and catastrophes, read Dr. Lapp's splendid little book. When you have finished you will find that with no strain at all you have been informed and entertained. No book could offer more.

As a result of having read such books as these, I am not nearly so upset about my moonship, death ray and cosmic bomb as I used to be. I realize that once I get up the courage to stop payments on the TV set, I too may be able to return to the land of normal men, and find out something about the beauties and wonders of nature as found in the studies of science, instead of being immersed in the terrors and horrors of science as huckstered in the writings of the sensation-mongers.



## GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

By Allan A. Michie. Sloane. 368p. \$5

Of the many books which have appeared on the monarchy during this Coronation year, Allan Michie's is the best I have come across. An American living in England, he sets out to answer some of the questions which he discovered in a recent lecture tour in the United States to be uppermost in the minds of his fellow citizens. In the course of his own researches into the history and present position of kingship in Great Britain, he found overwhelming evidence that, far from being only a feudal anachronism, the institution is in a mystifying and paradoxical but very practical way, suited to Britain's needs.

His treatment of the subject makes the book of more than transitory importance. It is, in fact, a very entertaining and useful textbook on the constitutional history of England as reflected in the relationship of the Crown, Parliament, the Judiciary and Local Governments. The origins of English customs and traditions are nearly always found rooted in the Catholic history of the country. The survival of the Coronation ritual, for instance, is a magnificent if pathetic reminder of the religious splendor enjoyed abundantly by countless generations of Englishmen until the Reformation destroyed that heritage. A book like this shows how difficult it is for anyone who does not appreciate the age-long Catholic past of the country to understand English history or contemporary life in true perspective.

The Queen has inherited from her father a life of endless work devoted to affairs of state. She cannot escape her daily duties, which would appal any trade-union leader in the ranks of organized labor.

Mr. Michie has delved into the details of this daily toil with the observation and instinct for reporting which come from years as correspondent and editor in Britain of American publications such as *Fortune*, *Time*, *Life*, etc. His narration is therefore written in the style which pleases contemporary readers. It is not easy to penetrate into the inner recesses of a royal palace. Through Mr. Michie's eyes we do so in this really worth-while book. The illustrations are well-chosen and clear-cut. Most of them are taken from the invaluable and almost inexhaustible collection of photographs on British affairs which the British Information Services in New York has built up over the years.

ROBERT WILBERFORCE

## KING GEORGE V: His Life and Reign

By Harold Nicolson. Doubleday. 570p. \$7.50

Harold Nicolson, the competent biographer of Byron, Benjamin Constant and Lord Curzon, was commissioned by the Royal Family in 1948 to do this life of George V. It seemed an unenviable task, even for a man of Mr. Nicolson's wide experience and scholarship. However, the finished product certainly justifies the confidence placed in him.

The ancient powers of the English kings (and queens) have been reduced to "the right to be consulted, the right to encourage, the right to warn." The extent to which these can be used depends, within certain limits, on the king's own personality and experience. George V used these powers to their limit while being aware, sometimes fearfully aware, of the implications of a limited constitutional monarchy which a Cabinet Government carried on in his name.

He lived in an uncertain and somewhat bleak period of history. He had witnessed the zenith of the British Empire during the days of his grandmother, Victoria; he had survived long enough to notice a few cracks appearing in the Imperial Structure. George V received much of his early training under the strict, disciplined code of the British Navy and remained all his life one whose speech had "the tang and the exuberance of the salt sea waves."

Mr. Nicolson portrays him as a good (but not a great) king, who, ever conscious of his prowess as a seaman, guided the ship of state through many a stormy sea.

There was indeed plenty of rough weather: the struggle of the House of Lords to stem the growing power of the Commons; the Irish Home Rule question; World War I; and the advent of the first Labor Government in British history.

When Ramsey McDonald became the first Socialist Premier, the King wrote in his diary: "Today 23 years ago dear grandma died. I wonder what she would have thought of a Labor Government." Of course, the King's role in the many crises of his reign was not jussive, but his counsel was much sought and freely given.

King George commanded the respect of his subjects because of his humble disposition and his innate sympathy for the common man. But here again his influence can be measured only in relation to his whole family. There was his Queen, Mary, a dignified, courageous lady, whose

# BOOKS

recent death touched people all over the world. His eldest son, Edward, Prince of Wales, was immensely popular with the people.

It is here that I find the only disappointment with Mr. Nicolson's magnificent work. In painting the picture of the King, he left out much that should have been mentioned of the man—the family man. Indeed, it was through being the good family man that George V became the good king.

Despite this shortcoming, the book is worthy of a wide audience. People who wonder at the amazing stability of the British monarchy will find most of the answers here. And students of Britain in the early part of the century will find Mr. Nicolson, the historian, at his best.

GERARD E. SHERRY

## WINSTON CHURCHILL: The Era and the Man

By Virginia Cowles. Harper. 378p. \$5

This biography is almost as deeply satisfying as Sir Winston Churchill's own *Life of Marlborough*. It is as complete, objective and authoritative as anything likely to be published in our generation on England's great statesman. The book is but one of a multitude of studies on Churchill, including the great man's numerous portraits of himself, but it is one of the very best. Miss Cowles' verdict is that he will be remembered as a statesman but cherished as a man. Perhaps that is the fairest verdict of all.

For over fifty years Sir Winston Churchill has succeeded in directing world attention to himself. At various times he has provoked his countrymen, and the greater part of mankind, to anger, admiration, indignation, laughter, gratitude, fury and veneration. But whatever the feeling, and Miss Cowles is correct in saying that it has never been lukewarm, Churchill has never failed to fascinate. The swift changing facets of his personality combine the frailties of human nature with the highest capacity for service and leadership.

With Churchill it is possible, as Miss Cowles suggests, to see selfishness flash into generosity; mischievousness retreat before a strict code of Victorian morality; impulsiveness melt into wisdom; dejection surge into wit; flouts and jeers dissolve into warm and loyal friendships. And shining through all the many contradictions of his

dynamic and mercurial temperament, Miss Cowles discerns a burning courage and a deep faith in the power for good within the human race.

Miss Cowles necessarily covers a lot of very familiar ground. But she knows full well what has been written by and about Mr. Churchill and has been able to avoid the more obvious ruts that have been cut deep by other industrious pens. Thus she emphasizes Churchill's passionate devotion to his father, Lord Randolph, who had reached the Cabinet at the age of thirty-six. When the prospects of a career like that of his father excited him, "such a gleam shot from him that he was almost transfigured." Entering the House of Commons at twenty-six, Churchill read industriously almost every word his father had ever spoken and learnt by heart large portions of his speeches. He unquestionably took his politics from his father because Lord Randolph seemed to him to have possessed the key alike to popular oratory and political action.

Churchill made more than his legitimate quota of blunders. He should never have been Chancellor of the Exchequer, for example, because he knew nothing about economics. His immortality is assured, however, because he led the free world in its darkest hour with magnificent courage and ability. The greater part of the human race will cherish his memory because of his immense vitality, his mastery of the English language, his contribution to literature, his painting, his far-flung interests from bricklaying to racehorses, and his explosive refusal to accept defeat in any guise.

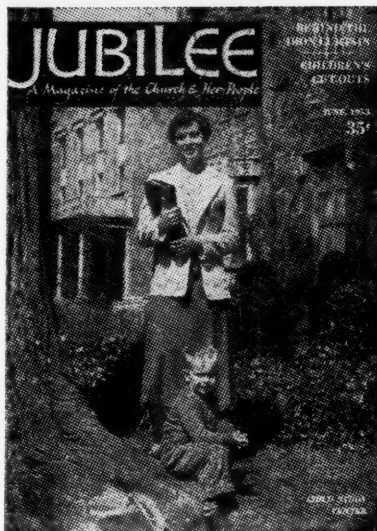
JOHN J. O'CONNOR

#### HAROLD LASKI

By Kingsley Martin. Viking. 278p. \$4

Kingsley Martin, editor of the *New Statesman and Nation*, author of many articles, former professor at Cambridge and close friend of Prof. Laski since their first meeting in 1920, has attempted to fulfil Freda Kirchwey's desire in regard to Harold Laski: "that some one take proper account of a character of so many facets, contradictory, challenging, enigmatic, but all reflecting a surprising inner consistency."

Martin's "account" appears in this biography. The life story is well written and packed with Laskian anecdotes. The author's power of expression and the free flow of his style are cinematic to the fourth dimension. From the very beginning the reader relives with Mr. Laski a life crowded with activities and crises in peace and war, day and night, in the classrooms



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and the public forums in England, Europe and America.

Student days at Oxford, where he won his "first" in history after a bad start in science, are followed by his teaching apprenticeships at McGill, later Harvard, and finally the London School of Economics. Everywhere students, young and old, gravitated in throngs to his classes. Everywhere Harold Laski met and corresponded with the great men of his time. In America it was Holmes, Frankfurter and FDR; in England it was Attlee, Baldwin and Churchill; in Russia, Stalin himself. And everywhere his unorthodox views hailed him before the bar of public opinion.

He was a man with a tremendous capacity for work, a deep interest in his students and an unwillingness to keep his social ideas within the four walls of any college. He perceived the need of a new social order, and to accomplish this he sent his ideas into the market place. His was an age of wars, communism, socialism and fascism. Prof. Laski's social theory was deeply tinged with the Marxian dialectic. While he preferred for England a social revolution "by consent," he was convinced the conservatives would block it. Since capitalism was a failure, he chose the Labor party as the parliamentary instrument of his social reform. To achieve this he spent the war years molding and educating the party.

Although Kingsley Martin notes some defects in his hero, his biography for the most part is journalistic idol-worship. As a man, Harold Laski was temperamentally and intellectually incapable of working with any one who refused to pay him homage. He broke with everyone who disagreed with him. His dealings with Attlee, Baldwin, Churchill and even the Labor party testify to this. His egotism is appalling and nowhere better exemplified than in his reconciliation with his Jewish parents and faith. He says:

We all went to Manchester for four days. . . . I wish you could have seen it. . . . We were treated like gods, with a deference and politeness quite beyond words. I had only one row and that was over Ireland with my uncle, my father backing me up; otherwise nothing but perfect peace. It was difficult to keep from shrieking with laughter at the irony of the situation, but it made the old people happy and it was brief.

One must also disagree with Mr. Martin's glowing appraisal of the great scholarship of his hero. That Prof. Laski had read extensively and was possessed of a prodigious memory cannot be denied, but his powers of critical analysis are not so evident. He was

a crusader with a fixed social idea which colored and warped all that he read or experienced. This is true of his *Grammar of Politics* and *The American Democracy*. These, as well as the *American Presidency* and many of his other writings, are verbose, repetitious, in many places inaccurate and uncritical. Even Mr. Martin admits that most of his books could be cut in half without any loss and that Mr. Laski rarely reread or edited the books he wrote. Scholarship is made of sterner stuff.

Harold Laski was a Marxian crusader, a social theorist, a clever journalist, a stimulating lecturer, perhaps even "the most articulate human being who ever lived," but hardly a profound scholar. As far as his social theories were concerned, England is fortunate to have had Churchill and not Laski at the helm during the war years and at the present time.

We must still await the definitive biography of Harold Laski.

ARTHUR A. NORTH

### SHAKESPEARE AND THE RIVAL TRADITIONS

By Alfred Harbage. Macmillan. 393p. \$6

Winner of the Modern Language Association-Macmillan award for 1951, this book exemplifies historical criticism at its best. Out of the welter of facts that Prof. Harbage accumulates on Elizabethan theatres and the content of Elizabethan plays emerges a clear-cut picture of the duality of Elizabethan drama—a duality that sheds much light on Shakespeare's materials and intentions. Two traditions are sharply distinguished: the popular drama of the public theatre, where Shakespeare worked, and that of the "coterie" play, written for the private theatres by such writers as Marston, Jonson, Middleton, and Beaumont and Fletcher.

There was a marked contrast between the rival traditions. The popular drama, which expressed the dreams, aspirations and conscience of the common people of England, was generally idealistic, romantic and patriotic, and conformed to the ideals of Christian humanism. The coterie drama, sophisticated, cynical and contentious, displayed no real faith in Christian values, nor any real concern that these values could, or should, prevail in the lives of men.

The book has two main parts. In part one, the development of the theatre of the nation and the theatre of the few is explained. The popular theatre was an actor's theatre—one of craftsmen-sharers who accepted all the important ethical values of the time

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UR A. NORTH

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Macmillan. 393p.

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and, knowing what the people wanted, commissioned authors to produce it. The theatre of the few, taking its start from the chorister companies, was a musicians' and authors' theatre that sought to exclude by high admission prices the lower and middle classes, and to cater to the taste for the erotic, satiric and sensational of its specialized audience. Conflict was inevitable: there resulted the war of the theatres mentioned briefly in *Hamlet*.

The second half of the book is a study of the two views of life that appear in the two traditions. Chapters on the divine plan, dignity of man, sexual behavior, wedded love and the commonweal contrast the Christian outlook and ideals of Shakespeare with the confused attitudes of the coterie writers.

This book stresses a number of significant conclusions. One of them is that a great poet realized the great values of his time and felt his responsibility to, as well as his identity with, the people of his time.

It is impossible to express in a short review all the important implications of this book. New facts—as well as old facts—are given an intelligent application. The book is also well-written and admirably documented.

PAUL E. McLANE

#### THE HISTORY OF THE CORONATION

By Lawrence E. Tanner. British Book Centre, N. Y. 96p. \$4.50

It is hard to keep one's attention on the text of this book, for the eye constantly wanders to the illustrations that fill perhaps the greater part of its 96 quarto pages. The text sketches briefly the history of Westminster Abbey and the growth of the Coronation Service, describes the dignitaries, the regalia, the music and the trappings of the ceremony. A couple of chapters are devoted to certain famous Coronations of the past. There is a special chapter on "Coronations of Queens Regnant," of whom Elizabeth II is the sixth in English history.

The illustrations range from photographs of the last Coronation, that of George VI in 1937, to pictures of processions for Edward VI, Charles II and James II and of illuminated medieval manuscripts. By way of lagniappe there goes with the book a full-size reproduction of four pages from the London *Sun* for June 28, 1838 describing the Coronation of Queen Victoria.

Mr. Tanner, who is Keeper of the Monuments and Library at Westminster Abbey, has produced a handsome and informative book.

CHARLES KEENAN

#### CHAUCEER

By Raymond Preston. Sheed & Ward. 325p. \$4.50

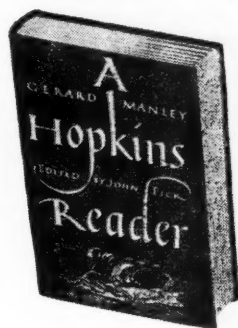
"*Deo Gratias*," exclaims Mr. Preston on the last page. He has finished his courageous attempt to say something on all of Chaucer's pilgrims and on almost every piece, long or short, that Chaucer wrote. A fully fruitful outcome to such a task would demand perhaps the intuition of a Chesterton and the erudition of a Kittredge, particularly if the job is to be done in the space of the 150 pages to which Mr. Preston has confined his own writing. He has, however, achieved a synthesis that is animated with Chaucerian spirit, wit, tentativeness and faith, although it is often as exasperating as Chaucer's Retraction in forcing the reader to make his own connections and as portentous as the Squire's Tale in raising great expectations.

In few other general studies of Chaucer is there a better analysis of the poet's verse: his "melodic speech . . . [is] . . . as essential to Chaucer as the musical sequence to Bach" (hence, Mr. Preston's justifiable indictment of "modernizing" the poet). His drama is "less in verse than through verse, so that we can look beyond the immediate persuasion and the emotion of the moment." Blending the "verse of direct action or downright idiom" with lyrical verse, but still writing on several levels and from different points of view, Chaucer confects "simplification, . . . the hardest thing in the world: the last reward of any discipline, including poetics."

Some readers may heed the suggestion (p. 64)—which is a token of the occasional hoity-toity character of the book—that they may merely "glance through" two of the three chapters on the *Troilus*. They would miss Mr. Preston's commendable views that the poem clarifies "the meaning of skepticism in a society of developed religion: the skepticism which is neither unbelief nor frozen doubt," and that, in rarely saying "this is bad, this is evil," Chaucer "accords with the Thomist principle that evil is deprivation of good; and there are degrees of deprivation" (pp. 56, 99).

The problem of evil and the corollary "sin is behoovable" are the centers of the best parts of his book—the chapter on the Parson's Tale, and his epilog. His estimate of the Knight's Tale as "a high falutin' story" may alarm some, and refresh a few readers (p. 186). His analysis of the difficult *fabliaux*, which is much like Prof. Lawrence's in his recent excellent book, will be salutary for most readers: Chaucer's problem was "not

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of obscenity but decorum" (p. 190). Mr. Preston's opinion that Nicholas "is an undergraduate . . . with a hidden life of the senses not quite for certain swallowed in sensuality" (p. 191) is kind.

The diversity and the ultimate harmony of the world of Chaucer's poetry are briefly but pointedly proclaimed in the pages on the tales of the Pardoner and the Nun's Priest. The whole book has been garnished with allusions to sources or parallels in the *Romance of the Rose*, to St. Thomas Aquinas—it would be safer at present to allude merely to Thomist thinking—to Dante and, occasionally too garishly, to T. S. Eliot. This seasoning sets off the centrality of Chaucer, the "poet of serenity, . . . the man with the most *art* of any English poet, and the easiest naturalness" (pp. 308-309).

Mr. Preston has used or called attention to much of the scholarship since F. N. Robinson's great edition. I, for one, bless him and his publisher for putting foot-notes where they should be in this book. The editing is exceptional and the index is excellent.

This may be no "parfit" book, but the author has carved well "biforn his fader[s] at the table."

JEROME W. ARCHER

## How to handle Reds

### HERESY, YES—CONSPIRACY, NO

By Sidney Hook. Day. 283p. \$3.75

Accepting Justice Holmes' definition of liberalism as "the free trade of ideas," Sidney Hook adds that the competition must be honest and openly conducted. We must be careful not to restrict the free expression of heresy, which is defined as "a set of unpopular ideas or opinions on matters of grave concern to the community." Communist *ideas* are heretical and their expression should not be feared, declares Professor Hook. Members of the Communist *organization*, however, are committed to the use of underhanded techniques and, as active partners in a conspiracy, they do not deserve our tolerance. Quotations from Marxist prophets and instruments of instruction are cited in support of his thesis.

Employment in plants doing restricted work, in Government service and in schools should, in the author's view, be barred to Communist party members. In some other situations, where supervision would not be too expensive or have demoralizing effects, specific performance can be the criterion; and radio or movie perform-

ers should be considered no risk at all, for they do not control the lines they speak. To those who suggest that barring members of the Communist party from certain employment constitutes an unfair, a priori judgment on a possibly innocent association, the author responds:

. . . a man does not today somnambulistically stumble into the Communist party. If he remains a member, this is *prima facie* evidence that he is a hardened conspirator. . . If ever an individual could be found who had joined and remained a member . . . under the impression that it was merely a branch, say, of a Temperance Union or a Benevolent Association for Diffusing Joy Among the Sexes, he would be ineligible, on grounds of lack of intelligence, for any responsible job.

Membership in front organizations presents much greater difficulty in determining the significance of an individual's membership. Prof. Hook's suggested criteria make a good deal of sense. They are: the number of organizations to which the individual belongs; the degree and character of his activity; and the time and place; and the extent of open cooperation between the front organization and the Communist party. Evidence which will establish unreliability for positions of trust need not, he asserts, be as rigid as that needed to determine guilt where loss of life or liberty is involved.

With this framework of principles established to his satisfaction, Prof. Hook proceeds to examine the specific problem of heresy and conspiracy in education, emphasizing the importance of maintaining academic freedom and the necessity for faculty jurisdiction over faculty members. Taking exception to the position of many of today's academic spokesmen, he decries the unreality of "ritualistic liberalism."

At the same time, he clarifies the danger of attempts at control by ill-informed trustees, Congressmen and assorted super-patriots who, like the Communists, would reduce all education to propaganda.

Sidney Hook is a teacher-philosopher-publicist who has done much to further the cause of cultural freedom. When he concludes that members of the Communist party should not be employed in Government or education his arguments deserve our close attention. Even those who disagree with his recommendations will welcome this book as a contribution toward rational consideration of a problem that has been discussed so as to generate much heat and little light.

M. D. REAGAN



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## Reformed or villain still?

### THE RETURN OF GERMANY

By Norbert Muhlen. Regnery. 310p. \$4.50

### GERMANY PLOTS WITH THE KREMLIN

By T. H. Tetens. Schuman. 294p. \$3.75

These two books are in sharp contrast, in both attitude and method. Norbert Muhlen, a contributor to many American journals, bases his observations and comments on direct knowledge of events and persons. T. H. Tetens appears never to have visited postwar Germany and his material reeks of the clipping bureau. For Mr. Tetens, Germany is even now a menace to the world; for Mr. Muhlen, Germany is a country battling sincerely, if not always brilliantly, to win its way back into the comity of nations. The sympathies of the two authors are not disguised, but if there were a debate between them, the judges would give all points to Mr. Muhlen for facts, presentation and argumentation.

The last previous work of Mr. Tetens was a booklet distributed gratis by the Society for the Prevention of World War III, an organization headed by detective-story writer Rex Stout. This was one of the most sensational of the movements prominent during the war in the great debate over Germany's future status. The general thesis of the book recalls the anti-German spirit of that organization. The title of the work is a well-worn theme, and the publishers evidently think theme and title will sell the book. In spite of what General Telford Taylor says on the blurb, it is not "unfamiliar to most Americans." It is the same old stuff gotten out in a specially inept manner.

The author, after his indictment, disclaims any intent to present a new set of principles for a constructive U. S. policy in Europe. "To develop such a policy will require a long and arduous process of re-examination, fact-finding and constructive thinking." It is hard to see, then, what good purpose this book could serve. We know very well that Germany is a problem. It is not due to any stupidity on the part of the State Department or the Pentagon, or to any craftiness on the part of would-be German plotters that Germany is situated in the heart of Europe and that its numerous and industrious people are a rich prize in any world rivalry. The Germans are unsure of themselves politically and need guidance

and encouragement in their struggle to "return," not the brutal misrepresentations portrayed in the Tetens work.

In addition to the carefully selected clippings from a limited number of German newspapers and the exaggerated arguments based upon an unidentified and unevaluated "German Geopolitical Center" in Madrid, Mr. Tetens particularly reveals his distorted and sterile approach when he attempts to stigmatize all the progressive moves made in Europe as so many expressions of German desires for hegemony. The Schuman Plan, the European Defense Community and the other projects for unification are presented here as part of the plot with the Kremlin on the part of Adenauer. This is too much. The Europeans know their Germans better than that, especially Robert Schuman himself.

*The Return of Germany* is a refreshing introduction to the real Germany today and its bona fide aspirations in all their complexity. *Germany Plots with the Kremlin* is a dead-end for American-German relations.

ROBERT A. GRAHAM

### MAJOR CAMPAIGN SPEECHES OF ADLAI E. STEVENSON

Introduction by the Author. Random House. 320p. \$3.50

Some will think it strange that before the echoes of the recent Presidential campaign have died away we have this collection of the major campaign speeches of the losing candidate. Why, they will say, should we take time to read the arguments that were rejected by the voters only a few months ago? If 1952 had been just another campaign year, that would be a difficult question to answer. However, it was hardly that, and among the uncommon features of the campaign were the speeches of Adlai Stevenson. They have been published in response to what the Governor tells us in his opening remarks was a flood of messages that "a little X in the right place on the ballot" would have so easily made unnecessary.

These speeches mark the return to our national political life of a type of eloquence which once graced it. "When the tumult and the shouting die, when the bands are gone and the lights are dimmed, there is the stark responsibility in an hour of history haunted with those gaunt, grim specters of strife, dissension and materialism at home, and ruthless, inscrutable and hostile power abroad." It was hard to realize this was an American politician talking, so long had the great strength of our language been



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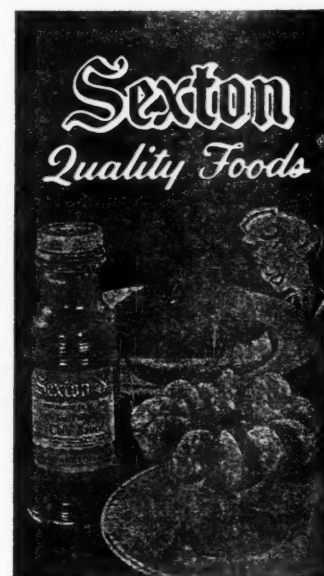
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left idle in its traditional office of political persuasion.

These thoughts stand out prominently: the sincere dread in which Stevenson held the responsibilities of the Presidency, and the tremendous demands on the patience and steadfastness of the American people he foresaw in the years ahead. He isn't a soothing speaker. Underneath his grace and wit is a sternness that is unmistakable, especially when the words are read away from the din and glare in which they were spoken.

Good winners and good losers alike will profit from a fresh look at these mature talks with the American people. Their charm has not been lost by reducing them to print; in fact, the reader may be said to have the advantage of the listener. For they have the unusual attribute among campaign speeches of meriting reflection.

JOHN J. RYAN JR.

**THE EAGLE AND THE ROCK**

By Frances Winwar. Harper. 371p. \$3.95

If Napoleon Bonaparte ever had a childhood companion named Victor de Laurestan, who hitched his frail wagon to the young Corsican's rising star and tailed after him even unto Elba and St. Helena, it is news to me, and perhaps news to the historians great and small. But Victor de Laurestan is a handy device Mrs. Winwar invents to tell, in fictionally swift and adept form, the story of "the Little Corporal," the "Emperor," the first modern dictator, who, like all others before and since, imagined himself a great patriot.

The magnificently sordid account of the rise and ruin of Napoleon has been told countless times before. Mrs. Winwar retells it in a novel that will satisfy readers of literary bustles, "fictional tales based on stern realities." And Mrs. Winwar, like most of the other biographers of Napoleon, seems to be more than a little enamored of her subject, even while admitting that he wasted the blood of France and laid the foundation for the enmities that have tormented Europe through three disastrous wars after Napoleon's death. The men of France whose lives were wasted in Napoleon's wars were only the first instalment of the tragic sacrifices that followed in 1870, in 1914-1918 and in 1940-1945. One might even find cause to trace the desperate sacrifice of young French officers in Indo-China today to Napoleon's dream of killing the English leopard by attacking it in India.

Of this novel one can report that it should be attractive to adult readers who like historical fiction. It is well-

paced, moves swiftly and manages some adroit characterization of its lesser figures. But Napoleon himself remains something of a figure for a monument.

R. F. GRADY

**BROADAX AND BAYONET: The Role of the United States Army in the Development of the Northwest, 1815-1860**

By Francis Paul Prucha. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 263p. \$4

The author had quite a good idea in mind in planning this volume and, it seems to me, he has worked this idea through to satisfactory conclusion. The scholar will learn from the painstaking research evident in the study, although it is quite possible that the casual reader, unless already convinced that "there's something about a soldier," may find the perusal rather hard going at times.

Mr. Prucha confines his study to a rather detailed account of the nonmilitary activities of the United States Army in the development of the Northwest, 1815-1860. Studies of the frontier are proceeding apace and many of the gaps in the Turner synthesis are being filled in by such studies as the present. This is all to the good, for by just such activities the intellectual frontier pushes forward.

It is sometimes forgotten that an army should have a civilizing function after it has once finished the phase of blood and sweat; this function as illustrated in military roads, scientific contributions and many other aspects, makes up the content of Mr. Prucha's fine study. This will not be a best seller, but it is a worthwhile book.

JOHN BERNARD MCGLOIN

ROBERT WILBERFORCE is former cultural adviser at the British Information Service, New York City.

GERARD SHERRY is Catholic Editor of *Religious News Service*. JOHN J. O'CONNOR is professor of history at Georgetown University.

REV. ARTHUR A. NORTH, S.J., is in the Department of Political Philosophy at Fordham University.

PAUL E. McLANE is assistant professor of English at the University of Notre Dame.

JEROME W. ARCHER is in the Department of English at Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis.

JOHN J. RYAN, JR. is a Boston attorney.

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## THE WORD

"And when the time came for his supper, he sent one of his own servants telling the invited guests to come, for all was now ready. And all of them, with one accord, began making excuses" (Luke 14:17-18. Gospel for Sunday in Octave of Corpus Christi).

Our divine Saviour's symbolic story of a great banquet may not have been an original image in religious literature, but it was certainly a favorite with Him: He used it on a number of occasions and in a number of forms. As we have it in the Gospel of the second Sunday after Pentecost, the story of the banquet may be said to have three distinct symbolic meanings.

Primarily, of course, the feast represents faith. Necessarily, our Lord's constant preoccupation was the task of winning faith in Himself for what He was, and no small job it proved to knock into hard Hebrew heads the suspicion that their owners were refusing the most sensational and most critical invitation that could ever be, and that consequently the chosen people would presently find themselves shut out in the supernatural cold and lost in the supernatural dark.

Second, the symbol of a banquet immediately suggests the Holy Eucharist, and the occurrence of this Gospel within the octave of Corpus Christi intimates that such a meaning is not foreign to the mind of Mother Church. In this connection it seems only necessary to heave out a hearty *Deo Gratias* that we, unlike our grandfathers and our grandmothers, live in an authentic sacramental age of the Church. All may not be perfect in the contemporary Catholic Church, but as the priest who says the eight o'clock Mass hurries for the ninth or tenth time to the head of the Communion-rail to begin all over again, he cannot avoid the warm feeling that neither is all ill in the Church today. That warm feeling will sometimes even survive the later Masses.

Our Lord's banquet may be understood in yet a third sense, as representing that entire reality which we call the supernatural. The obvious fact that some people are good and some people are bad is by no means identical with the fact that some people are much more supernatural than others. A prince *might* be more supernatural than a priest, and a printer or a press-agent (though here even the alliteration labors) *might* be more supernatural than either. What the

ordinary Christian has got to realize is that holiness, as distinct from morality, depends entirely on just how supernatural a man is or desires to be.

This is not the place to discourse on the nature of the supernatural, helpful as that might be. Suffice it to remark that the supernatural, both as a matter of perception and (especially) of operation, will, as its name suggests, be regularly far more challenging than the merely natural.

In the Divine Office for this Sunday the sharp mind of Pope Gregory the Great pierces through this whole problem of the supernatural and neatly formulates the decisive principle. Gregory points out that there is this difference between natural and supernatural appetite. Natural appetite is stimulated by starvation, dulled by repletion; and exactly the opposite is true of the supernatural appetite. The more often I receive Holy Communion, the more often I want to receive Holy Communion. The less often I say the rosary, the less often will I want to say the rosary. The more frequently I prize a man, not because his skin is white or his trousers are pressed or his views agree with mine, but because he is made in the dread image of God and splashed—whether he knows it or not—with the bright blood of Christ, the more I will be inclined to prize him and all other men, so. And Gregory sighs and adds the terrible, true comment on fallen mankind in relation to the supernatural: "*Amamus miseri famem nostram: Wretched as we are, we love our starvation.*"

Spread full before us and groaning with untasted delights is the banquet-board of the supernatural. But we, wretched as we are, are so busy, so very busy. The summer bungalow, the new car, the wife—*nos miseri*, indeed!

VINCENT P. MCCORRY, S.J.

## THEATRE

A GREENER PASTURE. In her interesting "Paris Letter" (Am. 5/23), Isolde Farrell included two items that caused a mixture of envy and skepticism in this critic, and probably gave rise to a similar feeling in other theatregoers on this side of the water.

"One of the most remarkable features of the theatrical season in Paris," Miss Farrell wrote, "has been the success of two plays with religious themes—*Les Dialogues des Carmélites*, by George Bernanos, and *Sur la Terre Comme au Ciel*, by Fritz Hochwaelder." Miss Farrell further related that

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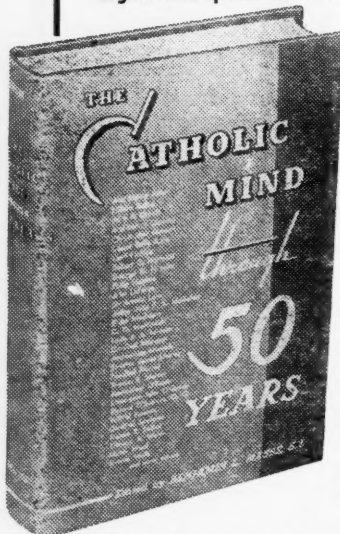


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both plays were hits in the 1951-52 season, reopened after the summer lull and continued through the current season. "Such long runs are exceptional here," Miss Farrell informed us, "where a play is considered a success if it holds the boards for one full season."

Reading Miss Farrell's report, a New York theatregoer is bound to feel envious of the Parisians, who apparently enjoy a more solid as well as a more varied theatrical diet. French playwrights seem to be more mature than their American colleagues and are blessed with an audience that is neither frightened nor bored by serious drama. French dramatists write as if they are aware that their art is derived from worship, while in America both playwrights and patrons of the theatre seem to have the impression that it is more closely related to the circus.

Noting Miss Farrell's comment that the success of the two plays is exceptional in Paris, one reflects that in New York it would be well nigh impossible. We have few known playwrights capable of an adult approach to a religious subject, and almost as few in the existing audience able to distinguish ritual from a voodoo chant. Presented before the kind of audience that ignored *Magdalena* and made a hit of *Guys and Dolls*, any play with a religious theme has two strikes against it when it opens.

*Guys and Dolls*, of course, is splendid entertainment; but that's practically all it is. *Magdalena*, on the other hand, is civilized music drama that has depth, tenderness and poignancy in a frame of moral responsibility, and a magnificent score by the foremost composer of Brazil. The kind of people capable of appreciating it, however, are simply not in the New York audience.

*Ti-Coq*, which came out of Quebec, won wide popularity in the other Provinces of the Dominion, as well as with audiences in the Middle West. In New York the play did not survive three performances. *The High Ground* and *The Velvet Glove*, each with a popular star in the cast, were not utter failures, but neither could be called a success when compared with the plays mentioned by Miss Farrell.

Those productions, of course, might have been failures in Paris as well as New York; for the taste of theatregoers, the world over, is highly unpredictable. It is still true, also, that the clover always looks greener on the other side of the fence. It is hard to believe, however, that Paris would give *Magdalena* the cold reception it got in New York.

*Sur la Terre Comme au Ciel*, Miss Farrell reports, is scheduled for production in New York next season. This

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is the point where envy gives way to skepticism. After a critical analysis of the play, Miss Farrell's letter ends with the hope that it will be welcomed here as cordially as it was in Paris. Perhaps it will, but it is doubtful that an astute financier would consider it a sound investment. At any rate, the play will serve as a yardstick for measuring the comparative maturity of theatregoers in the two cities.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

## FILMS

**THE MAN ON THE TIGHTROPE** is a topical melodrama about a circus troupe which escapes from behind the Iron Curtain. According to the movie the troupe accomplishes this feat in spectacular fashion. Attired in full circus regalia they parade toward the border as though to put on a show for the frontier guards. Instead, at a given signal, the lead truck crashes through the border barricade and the rest of the troupe dashes across the bridge into the American zone before the surprised guards can muster anything more than sporadic gunfire.

Though highly effective cinematically this maneuver sounds a little too good to be true. It is in fact a fictional embellishment to the real life escape of the Circus Grumbach from the East Zone of Germany, an escape, however, which used the more conventional method of stealth and required a few months to complete. To emphasize its factual basis the picture was photographed in Bavaria and employs the same Circus Grumbach to provide big top atmosphere and background. But its most potent claim to authenticity came from an unanticipated source: a few weeks ago a news story from Europe described the escape from Soviet territory of another circus, using the method invented as fictional sugar-coating for the film.

The movie itself succeeds in being perhaps the most effective piece of anti-Communist screen propaganda to date. It manages this by scrupulously avoiding speeches on the subject and by letting the story speak for itself. The latter concerns a circus owner (Fredric March) whose growing disgust with the Czech regime proceeds entirely from personal experience. First his circus is nationalized, then it begins to decay physically because new equipment is unavailable, then the government begins to investigate the political orthodoxy of the performers and even to demand that the clown routines be given the proper po-

litical slant. Finally it becomes evident that a police spy is operating in the circus itself. Scenarist Robert E. Sherwood has spelled out very persuasively the gradual enlightenment of a man who learns to value freedom only when he has lost it and Elia Kazan has directed the story vigorously with an eye for significant detail. Between them they have, to less good effect, afflicted the hero with personal problems involving two steaming females straight out of Tennessee Williams. One is the man's dissatisfied young second wife (Gloria Grahame) and the other his post-adolescent daughter (Terry Moore) who is involved in a love affair with a suspiciously uncommunicative roustabout (Cameron Mitchell). Adults should be able to overlook these flaws in what is generally a convincing and exciting treatment of an important theme.

(Twentieth Century-Fox)

**THUNDER BAY.** If a theatre in your neighborhood has installed a new wide screen the chances are that this is one of the first movies that will be shown on it. This method of projecting films is designed to give a new or semi-cinemascope look to the unre-

leased backlog of pictures made before the 3D frenzy with all its ramifications hit the industry. The technique calls for a screen nearly twice as long as it is broad onto which is projected a double sized image cut to the proper vertical proportion by masking the top and bottom of the projection aperture. For films with striking visual effects ("Thunder Bay" is in Technicolor and is about offshore oil drilling) the panoramic look thus achieved is quite impressive. The most obvious drawback is that well-composed shots are thrown out of their proper proportion. Also the double-sized projection magnifies flaws. (In this case a rather anemic hurricane looks twice as phony as it would on a normal screen.)

Aside from this, the basic, inescapable fact is that wide-screen projection or any other mechanical advance is no substitute for a good story. And "Thunder Bay," despite a fine cast (James Stewart, Dan Duryea, Joanne Dru) is painfully silly for adults except when it is waxing semi-documentary about its photogenic and dangerous occupation.

(Universal-International)

MOIRA WALSH

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### Religious drama

EDITOR: It was with special pleasure I read Miss Isolde Farrell's "Paris letter" (AM. 5/23) calling attention to Georges Bernanos' play, *Dialogues des Carmélites*, which has now run two full seasons in Paris. Considering the mordant secularism of our times, it is truly remarkable that packed houses should gather, night after night, to listen to cloistered nuns conversing about the interior life. This is half the play, and makes it very fine.

Gertrud von le Fort's *Last Song at the Scaffold* is the literary source of *Dialogues des Carmélites*. It would be ungracious to forget that. Of course, on its own account, her book is a powerful and exquisite work of art. It lacks the paradoxical treatment of the Reverend Mother's death which Miss Farrell finds objectionable in the play. In my opinion, the heroine's motivation in the novel runs to a purer line throughout than in the stage version.

(REV.) EDGAR R. SMOTHERS, S.J.  
Ann Arbor, Mich.

### Farm folk and city folk

EDITOR: The resentment of city folks over the cost of the farm subsidy program (AM. 5/16, p. 178) is partly justified. From personal observation over a period of 15 years as a rural pastor I am convinced that in granting subsidies a distinction should have been made long ago between the family-size farmers and the big farm operators. The family-size farmer is now just breaking even. He needs a guaranteed price in order to enjoy any kind of security in raising a large family.

On the other hand, here in the Red River valley and elsewhere throughout the nation, the Government buys potatoes from the big operators at \$2 a bushel. Then, because of overproduction, it sells the same potatoes back to the operators as fertilizer at 1¢ a bushel, netting the operator a lush profit at taxpayers' expense.

The present system of helping the small and big operator alike, without regard to actual need, only leads to the concentration of valuable farm land in the hands of a few. Such a condition must spell ruin to rural America, because it spells the end of the ideal, family-size farm.

(REV.) ULRIC J. PROELLER  
Hillsboro, N. D.

EDITOR: As a former urbanite, I agree that in the legislatures of Ohio and Illinois, where I have lived, and no

doubt many others, the rural areas are over-represented at the expense of the cities. When I moved to a farm three years ago, I was surprised to find how strongly our farm friends support this arrangement.

In meetings of the Farm Bureau we were told quite frankly that only about fifteen per cent of the people of Ohio live on farms, and that therefore we must unite and work hard to maintain our hold on the State legislature, for if we don't, the labor unions will dominate it. Farmers are afraid of labor unions because they believe that unions are in part responsible for the high prices of manufactured goods the farmer buys, and because they know that unions always support price controls and other programs which lower farm prices.

Farmers believe that legislators are particularly subject to the influence of pressure groups. They would rather do the influencing themselves than trust other groups to look out for their interests.

Before your city readers jump all over me, may I point out that the above are the opinions of the lifelong farmers I have met during the last three years, and not my own.

(MRS.) JANE E. MURTAUGH  
W. Salem, Ohio

### Bouquets

EDITOR: Ever since I was in the third year of the minor seminary I have been reading AMERICA, and now that I am only two years from the priesthood, I consider that the magazine has become a necessary part of my clerical training.

For presentation of facts clearly and briefly (so important in the seminary when study time doesn't allow for too much purely non-theological reading) and for catholicity of interests for a Catholic, your weekly is A-1 on my list.

SEMINARIAN  
Address Withheld

EDITOR: We were very happy to know that AMERICA received an award from the Catholic Press Association. It is easy to understand, for your magazine (I almost said *our* magazine, for I am sure that all your readers feel that way) is outstanding as a review of opinion.

May God bless you and your associates and grant you continued success.

SISTER ELIZABETH ANN  
Editor, The Missionary Catechist  
Huntington, Ind.